

A FAMILY OF PEOPLES

THE
USSR
AFTER
50 YEARS



Edited by Jessica Smith

LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
AND
STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

A Family of Peoples

The USSR After Fifty Years

Editor: Jessica Smith

A New World Review Collection

947.085
Sm61 f

A Family of Peoples THE USSR AFTER FIFTY YEARS

Acknowledgments	4	My Native Byelorussia <i>Yanka Bryl</i>	94
Editor's Foreword <i>Jessica Smith</i>	5	Lenin: Founder of the Soviet State <i>Boris Topornin</i>	97
USSR Fiftieth Anniversary <i>Leonid Brezhnev</i>	9	Love of Country (Poem) <i>Mara Greeazanie</i>	101
Gus Hall	19	Maples in Bloom (Poem) <i>Yan Sudrabkali</i>	102
To the Peoples of the World	21	Talking with Americans About Soviet Jews <i>Joseph Braginsky</i>	104
Family of Soviet Nations <i>Yadgar Nasriddinova</i>	24	My Land (Poem) <i>Eduardo Miezelaitis</i>	114
The Burning Steppe (Poem) <i>Berdynazar Khudainazarov</i>	31	Esthetics and Culture: National And International <i>Yury Borev</i>	116
National Liberation in the USSR <i>George B. Murphy, Jr.</i>	34	—And in the USA: A Commentary <i>Sidney Finkelstein</i>	125
The Goal: Create the New Man <i>Ruben Yanyes</i>	38	On Friendship and Kinship <i>Irakli Abashidze</i>	127
From Romance to Reality <i>James Aldridge</i>	39	Winged Word of Our Peoples <i>Liudmila Tatyancheva</i>	130
Invitation to Kirghizstan (Poem) <i>Kurbanychbek Malikov</i>	42	Coming of the Flowers (Poem) <i>Uigun</i>	133
Angela Davis in the Soviet Union <i>Augusta Strong</i>	44	The Russian Republic: Vast Federation <i>Nikolay Mikhailov</i>	135
The Soviet Peace Policy: For Detente and Disarmament <i>E. H. S. Burhop</i>	51	Rasul from Tsada <i>Yakov Kozlovsky</i>	147
National Freedom in Central Asia <i>William J. Pomeroy</i>	63	Map of USSR	152
Women of Kirghizia, Kazakhstan <i>Celia Mariano Pomeroy</i>	73	Soviet Nations: Background Data	153
Jamilya: New Woman in Kirghizia <i>David Buehrens</i>	80	National Groups and Languages: Census Figures	156
Song About Our Stones (Poem) <i>Silva Kaputikian</i>	82	The Supreme Soviet	158
Soviet National Policy: Its Meaning for the World <i>Eduard Bagramov</i>	84	Population, by Republic and Region	160

Published by: N.W.R. Publications, Inc.
156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
1973

Printed in the U.S.A.
Library of Congress Card Catalogue No. 72-971-66

Acknowledgments

THE basis of this book is the special, enlarged issue of the quarterly magazine, *NEW WORLD REVIEW*, published in the Fall of 1972 (Vol. 40, No. 4) to mark the 50th Anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The bulk of the material, here presented in book form, is reprinted from that issue. However, we are glad to be able to include in addition a summary of the report delivered at the December 21 anniversary meeting in the Kremlin by Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary, and other materials of that meeting, which took place after the publication of the magazine.

All of the material in this book was prepared and edited by the *NEW WORLD REVIEW* staff, Jessica Smith, Editor, David Laibman, Assistant Editor, and Editorial Associate David Buehrens.

We wish to express our gratitude to the writers from the United States and other countries who have contributed to this *NWR* collection. And we wish to express special appreciation to Novosti Press Agency, whose cooperation made possible the inclusion of articles by leading Soviet authorities on the national question as well as contributions by writers and poets representing several of the 15 constituent republics and 100-odd nationalities making up the Soviet Union. We only regret that space did not permit the inclusion of many more of the latter.

It is our hope that this book will open the way to a deeper study of the Soviet experience in relations among nations and nationalities, so vital for the solution of the problems confronting our country and world in these turbulent times.

THE EDITORS, *NEW WORLD REVIEW*

JESSICA SMITH

Editor's Foreword

THE material in this book has been prepared in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We believe there is no better way to mark this historic anniversary than by helping to deepen the knowledge and understanding of how the USSR has handled the complex problem of creating a unified multinational state, a friendly family of peoples, in a land of over a hundred nationalities of widely diverse conditions and traditions. It is our hope to contribute to this understanding, so vitally important for the people of our country in the struggle against racist oppression of Black and other minority peoples, through this material on the Soviet national policy and its practical application, with its problems and difficulties as well as brilliant achievements.

We could not here encompass the complete story of the Soviet family of peoples. To know the USSR one should know something of all fifteen republics and of the many national groupings. The RSFSR—Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic—"first among equals," with the greatest land mass and population, itself a multinational republic, with numerous autonomous republics and regions, has led the way in fulfilling Lenin's great plan for building a new society "national in form, socialist in content." We hope this volume will open the way to a study of all the republics and peoples who have jointly created this society. This means learning about the highly developed Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic Republics in the West; Transcaucasia, containing the rich and variegated Georgian, Azerbaidzhanian and Armenian Republics; the reborn Central Asian Republics, the great stretches of Kazakhstan and all the formerly outlying and most backward and exploited areas where the darker skinned Asian peoples live, and the many smaller nations and peoples, some dying out in the past, who have found new life under socialism.

The transcendent fact emerges that the unity and strength of the USSR today is due not to the suppression of unique ethnic characteristics, not to the merging and melting of peoples, but to the Leninist policy of encouraging and developing their national identities and cultures, parallel with their closely knit common membership in the Soviet family of nations.

It is also necessary to study more deeply the many facets of Soviet socialist society integral to the life of all the Soviet peoples, not all of which could be covered in this volume concentrated especially on the national question.

Abolition of the exploitation of one nation by another, such as existed in the tsarist "prison-house of nations," goes hand in hand with abolition of exploitation of man by man. The people of all nationalities share on equal terms both in the construction and the fruits of the great projects that have created a strong material base for socialist growth. Under social ownership of means of production and natural resources, they work not for bosses but for themselves. The results of their labor go into the improvement of their own living standards, their own republic, the well-being of the state as a whole—and other states needing help.

The Soviet Government, with the Communist Party playing the leading role, serves the interests of the people as a whole, and of no monopoly groups or "military-industrial complex," since none exist. Party and government work together in drawing up and administering the economic planning system, which involves not only the central organs but republic and local bodies, down to the factory and enterprise level. Revenues from state enterprises finance such programs as the universal free education system, the free health and social welfare programs, the most comprehensive in the world. The people participate in government at all levels, and there are universal opportunities for cultural and creative activity. There has been no unemployment for over 40 years.

Foremost of the mass organizations playing a powerful role in Soviet society is the 90-million-strong trade union movement headed by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which unites the central unions covering all working people of the USSR—industrial, agricultural, cultural, professional—of all nationalities. The unions themselves administer the vast social insurance system. The workers participate in management through their regular production conferences and can force replacement of a director who does not heed their interests.

Youth, of course, must have special mention. The youth of all the Soviet peoples, with the Komsomol in the leadership, have been in the forefront of the great projects that have built up the more developed sections of the country and brought new life to the distant, formerly neglected areas. The mammoth hydroelectric stations at Bratsk, Krasnoyarsk and elsewhere, whole new socialist cities, have come into being, the vast virgin lands have been opened up, mainly

because of the energy and skill and devotion of Soviet young people.

The women of Soviet Asia, whose advances are most spectacular of all since their situation was the most desperate in the past, are dealt with especially in this book. But all Soviet women have benefited from the complete equality with men proclaimed by the Revolution and the Constitution, and from the far-reaching mother- and child-care system and the love and attention bestowed by Soviet society on children, whom Lenin called "the flowers of life." At the same time the struggle goes on for women's more complete liberation from the sense of superiority instilled in men through the ages and for a greater sharing of household burdens by the men of the family—problems which still persist under socialism.

As the Soviet peoples share with each other, they share with other socialist nations, and with the former colonial countries, which owe their freedom most of all to the Russian Revolution. Over 50 nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America receive aid without strings from the USSR and enjoy advantageous trade relations. Most of the aid goes toward industrialization, toward working up their own raw materials, blocked in the past by the colonialist exploiters.

The Soviet Union has struggled unceasingly, within the UN and in its relations with other nations, to end colonialism in all its forms. It gives constant support and help to national liberation movements such as those in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau. It aided the Bangladesh independence struggle and was one of the first to help that country restore its ravaged economy.

"US-USSR Relations Depend on Ending Vietnam War"

ABOVE all, the USSR, along with other socialist countries, has given massive aid to the heroic people of its ally, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in their fight against US aggression. It is generally estimated that 80 per cent or more of the sophisticated weaponry supplied North Vietnam, especially for anti-aircraft defense, has come from the Soviet Government, which also provides tremendous economic aid for rebuilding the destruction wrought by US bombs. The USSR also aids the liberation forces in South Vietnam. In addition to the official government aid, the Soviet people as a whole carry on numerous activities on behalf of the people of Indochina, raising funds for medical and other needed supplies, holding numerous meetings and "months of solidarity and friendship" in all the republics.

In reaching the agreements with President Nixon at the summit conference for improved US-USSR relations, the Soviet Union set

forth in sharp terms its condemnation of US aggression and unswerving support for the Vietnamese people in their fight for final victory.

The speech of Leonid Brezhnev at the 50th anniversary meeting in the Kremlin, summarized in the following pages, makes clear the horror and shock of the Soviet leaders at President Nixon's failure to end what Brezhnev termed "the dirtiest war in American history." He condemned the treachery of pretending to seek peace, then delaying the signing of the peace agreement and unleashing on an unprecedented scale the insane terror bombing of Hanoi and other cities of North Vietnam with its barbaric destruction of hospitals and homes and schools and thousands of civilian deaths.

Reviewing agreements reached at the summit conference, Brezhnev stressed especially the US-USSR agreement limiting strategic arms as of vital importance to the peace of the world, and urged the necessity of further steps in this direction. He emphasized the importance of US recognition in the joint statement of principles that "no foundation for US-USSR relations can exist in this nuclear age other than peaceful coexistence." At the same time he warned strongly that the future development of US-USSR relations depends above all on the question of ending the war in Vietnam.

The sweeping Soviet peace program, the continuing struggle of the USSR for an end to the arms race and a world disarmament conference, its new initiative in the United Nations for eliminating use of force in relations between nations and the prohibition for all time of the use of nuclear weapons, are outlined both in Brezhnev's speech and the article by the noted British physicist, Professor E. H. S. Burhop. The Soviet national policy of peace and friendship among the peoples within the USSR is reflected in the Soviet foreign policy of peace among the nations of the world, which cannot be separated from its struggle against imperialist aggression and its support for the Vietnamese people.

We hope this book will help dispel some of the misunderstandings and slanders of the Soviet Union, and the cold-war attitudes which have so long guided our country's policies and inflamed the world situation and which, indeed, are at the core of the barbarous racist war in Southeast Asia.

The supreme task of the American people is unremitting pressure to compel the Nixon Administration to bring that war to an end. And beyond that, to insure the end of all interference by the United States in Southeast Asia, leaving the Vietnamese people—and people everywhere—free to determine their own way of life.

BREZHNEV'S REPORT

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

A summary of the report by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, delivered on December 21, 1972, at a joint celebration meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, devoted to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR.

"THE FORMATION of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a direct continuation of the cause of the great October Revolution, which opened a new era in mankind's development. It was the practical embodiment of the great Lenin's idea of a voluntary union of free nations," said Leonid Brezhnev, opening his address at the 50th anniversary celebration, which was attended by numerous foreign delegations.

On December 30, 1922, the First Congress of Soviets adopted its declaration and treaty on the formation of the USSR, consisting at that time of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Federation of Transcaucasian Republics.

At that time, Secretary Brezhnev said, the prime need of the working people of the USSR was to strengthen their unity in order to advance along the path of building a socialist society. All the Soviet republics were faced first of all with the problem of reconstruction of the productive forces damaged and destroyed by war, to overcome the country's age-old backwardness and improve the working people's living standards. This could best be done by developing their economies under a common plan, and by rational use of the potentialities for the division of labor and resources among the various parts of the country. Finally, under continued threat of imperialist intervention, only the closest union of the military, political and diplomatic efforts of the Soviet republics then existing could safeguard Soviet power against the surrounding militarily strong capitalist powers. Thus, Brezhnev continued:

"The vital interests of all the Soviet peoples, the very logic of the struggle for socialism in this country, demanded the formation of a united multinational socialist state. But the establishment of such a state required the party's organizing role, correct policy and purposeful activity.

"The Land of Soviets was faced, on the one hand, with the problem of creating fundamentally new relations between the nations and nationalities within the country—relations of trust, friendship and fraternal cooperation—and on the other, the problem of defending and insuring the national independence of the young Soviet state in international relations.

"It was up to our party to do what even the most advanced capitalist states, which boast of their democracy, have not been and are unable to do. It is after all a fact that even today the national question remains highly acute in the USA, Canada and Belgium, to say nothing of Great Britain, where English imperialism has for many years been carrying on a savage war against the people of Northern Ireland."

The Leninist National Policy

THE unification of all the peoples of the country opened up unprecedented possibilities for social, economic and cultural progress, Brezhnev noted. In the past half century the total volume of industrial output has grown 320 times. This tempestuous economic growth created a reliable basis for the steady growth of the living and cultural standards of all the peoples. As compared to 1940, when the country had already surpassed the pre-revolutionary level, the population's real income has grown more than four times, retail trade turnover has grown more than seven times and the number of doctors has grown 370 per cent, and the number of citizens with a higher and a complete or incomplete secondary education by 550 per cent.

The accelerated development of the outlying national areas was possible only through assistance to the once oppressed nations by the more advanced parts of the country, above all, the Russian people, said Brezhnev. "Such assistance and readiness to put forth a great effort and even, let us plainly say, to make sacrifices so as to overcome the backwardness of the outlying national areas and help them to develop at an accelerated pace was bequeathed by Lenin to the proletariat of Russia as a prime international duty. The Russian working class, the Russian people, have fulfilled this duty with honor." He added that for many years budget expenditures of a number of Union Republics were covered mainly by subsidies from the all-Union budget.

In the past 50 years, Kazakhstan's industrial output has increased 600 times, Tadzhikistan's over 500 times, Kirghizia's over 400 times, Uzbekistan's 240 times, Turkmenia's over 130 times. The Trans-

caucasian republics, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan and Armenia, have made great strides in their economy. Byelorussia, whose earth was scorched by the invaders during World War II, is now flourishing, as is Moldavia, once a backward outlying area. The Ukraine, previously one of the more developed industrial and agricultural areas, has advanced much further, with industrial output up 176-fold since the formation of the USSR. The Baltic Republics, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, showed the highest rate of development in the Soviet Union after joining it in 1940. In the RSFSR, largest of all the Republics, industrial output has increased over 300-fold since 1922.

Brezhnev also dwelt in detail on the rich educational, cultural and scientific advances of all the republics and the benefits to all the Soviet peoples of the cultural interchange among them. Noting as one of the USSR's main achievements that a new historical entity, the Soviet people, has been established and become a reality, Brezhnev declared:

"We are justified in believing that this epitomizes the economic and sociopolitical changes that have taken place in this country in the past 50 years. The further drawing together of the nations and nationalities of our country is an objective process. The party is against pushing the process, this is needless, for it is determined by the entire course of our Soviet life. At the same time, the party considers impermissible any attempt to hold up or impede the process or to consolidate national distinctiveness artificially. This would go against the general line of development of our society, the internationalist ideals and the ideology of Communists, and the interests of communist construction."

Brezhnev dwelt on the radical change that had taken place in the sphere of social relations, with the exploitation of man by man ended forever. Declaring that the working class, the chief productive force of society and the most progressive class of the present epoch, the collective farm peasantry, which has shed private-property mentality, and the Soviet intelligentsia have all changed, he continued:

"Large contingents of the working class have been formed in all the republics, union and autonomous, and in all the national regions and areas. The working class, by nature the most international class of all, plays the decisive role in bringing closer together all the nations and nationalities of our country. The workers of all nationalities, united in close-knit production collectives, are erecting industrial installations, wherever they may be located, building the railways, and laying the canals, the oil pipelines and the electric-power

transmission lines linking the various parts of the country, the union and autonomous republics, and the territories and regions, into a coherent economic whole. In each of the Soviet republics, in each region and in each major city, you will find men and women of many nationalities living as neighbors and working together. Throughout the country there is a growing number of mixed marriages, which now run to millions."

Brezhnev recalled the heroic exploits of the Soviet people in World War II as the most convincing expression of their unity. This meant not only defense of their own socialist gains, but also, by saving the world from fascist barbarism, powerful support to the peoples' liberation struggles everywhere.

Stressing that aspects of the national problem inherited from the pre-revolutionary past had been fully solved, Brezhnev also reminded his audience that new tasks and problems were constantly arising, which must be solved not only in the interests of the country as a whole, but of every republic and people in particular. Lenin, he said, had always stressed the complexity of the national question, the need of showing tact and tolerance with respect to national feelings, those of the smaller nations in particular. Lenin always waged a relentless struggle against any manifestation of nationalism or great power chauvinism, and urged that a spirit of internationalism be constantly fostered.

"It should be remembered," Brezhnev continued, "that nationalistic prejudices, exaggerated or distorted national feeling, are extremely tenacious and deeply imbedded in the psychology of politically immature people. These prejudices survive even when the objective premises for any antagonisms in relations between nations have long ceased to exist. Nationalistic tendencies often interweave with parochial attitudes which are akin to nationalism. Neither can we afford to overlook the fact that nationalistic survivals are being encouraged from outside in every way by politicians and propagandists of the bourgeois world, in the hope of impairing—if only a little—the unity of the peoples of our country."

The USSR in the Struggle for Peace—Support of Vietnam

TURNING to international affairs, Brezhnev said that the Soviet Union has played a considerable role in all the historic changes that have taken place in the world during the past half century. He outlined the aims of Soviet foreign policy as follows:

"As we see it, the purpose of our foreign policy is to strengthen peace, which we need for building communism and which is re-

quired by all socialist countries, by the peoples of all lands. This is why we shall continue to oppose the policy of aggression and help to eliminate throughout the world the conditions that breed aggressive wars.

"It is the purpose and mission of our foreign policy to facilitate the exercise by all the peoples of their inalienable rights and, first and foremost, their right to independent and sovereign development, so that they may benefit from the fruits of modern civilization.

"It is the purpose and mission of our policy on the international scene to side unfailingly with those who are fighting imperialism and all forms of exploitation and oppression, and who are struggling for freedom and human dignity, for democracy and socialism."

Brezhnev declared that as a result of collective efforts a lasting alliance of socialist states had been formed, and a dependable system of all-round fraternal cooperation among them had become the natural form of life for each of them. In the present conditions the need for unity and the closest cooperation among socialist countries has become greater. Today, he said, we require unity, cooperation and joint action chiefly in order to accomplish effectively the tasks of developing socialist society and building communism, to safeguard and consolidate peace, to carry forward the international détente, and to repulse effectively all aggressive sallies of the imperialists, all attempts to impinge on the interests of socialism.

"Today," he continued, "one cannot but make special mention of our relations with that fraternal socialist state whose name has become for all the world the symbol of heroic struggle against aggression—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"In Washington, the Vietnam war is described as the longest in American history. It should be added that it is also the dirtiest of all wars known in American history.

"Now the world has become witness to new American imperialist crimes in Vietnam. Apart from the fact that, resorting to various unsavory maneuvers, the United States is artificially delaying the conclusion of an agreement on ending the war, it has resumed bombing towns and mining ports in the DRV. The US government has taken on itself a grave liability for these barbaric acts, for continuing to shed the blood of the Vietnamese people. Like all the peace-loving states, like all the peoples of the world, the Soviet Union firmly and indignantly condemns these acts of aggression."

Brezhnev declared that it is now clear to everyone that the US military adventure in Vietnam has failed, and that no new outrages can break the will of the heroic Vietnamese people or shake the deter-

mination of their friends to give them every possible support and aid in their just liberation struggle. Noting the extensive Soviet military, economic and other aid to Vietnam, Brezhnev said: "One other point needs to be stressed. We have always regarded it as a central objective of the Soviet Union's foreign policy to work for the elimination of the hotbed of war in Indochina. This is why we give our Vietnamese friends active assistance in their efforts for a just peace settlement. We shall spare no effort to preserve and strengthen Soviet-Vietnamese friendship."

Turning to China, Brezhnev noted that "the leaders of the People's Republic of China have taken the line of fighting the USSR and, in effect, the entire socialist community, which they continue to regard as the main obstacle to their great-power designs." He said such actions were unnatural in relations between socialist countries. Reviewing China's claims to Soviet territory, its sabotage of the efforts to limit the arms race and the struggle for disarmament, its alignment on anti-Soviet grounds with reactionary forces and other divisive policies, Brezhnev continued:

"The Chinese leaders allege that they are disturbed by some threat emanating from the Soviet Union. If these statements are not hypocritical, it is impossible to understand why in this case China has not replied to our proposal, repeatedly made since 1969, to assume clear, firm and permanent mutual commitments ruling out any attack by our countries on each other. If Peking is really concerned about China's security, why has the PRC leadership not agreed with us to conclude a special treaty denouncing the use of force, the draft of which we submitted to the Chinese side January 15, 1971? The draft of this treaty states unequivocally that the two sides—and I quote—'shall not use against each other armed forces employing any type of arms, including: a) conventional, b) missile, or c) nuclear.' No, the Chinese leaders' complaints about a mythical 'Soviet threat' quite obviously do not stand up to scrutiny."

"Our policy toward China is well known. It is outlined clearly in the decisions of the 24th Party Congress. The Soviet Union has neither territorial nor economic claims against China. We want to see China a flourishing socialist power, and to work shoulder to shoulder with her for peace, against imperialism. But when this is to come about depends on China herself. And, of course, nothing will make us depart from our principled Marxist-Leninist line, from our firm defense of the state interest of the Soviet people and the inviolability of Soviet territory, from determined struggle against divisive activities of the PRC leaders in the socialist world and liberation movements."

Brezhnev declared that the Soviet Union actively supports the national liberation struggle of the peoples and the progressive policy of countries liberated from colonial oppression: "We should like to stress that under present conditions, as we see it, a policy is progressive if it firmly repulses neocolonialism and works for the consolidation of the sovereignty and independence of the young states, for their economic liberation from imperialism, for peace, for social progress and closer solidarity with other progressive forces of our time, and, first and foremost, with the socialist countries."

Brezhnev noted that "friendship between the Soviet Union and India is exercising a strong positive influence on the international situation as a whole." He spoke of the good relations of the USSR with many peace-loving states of Asia and Africa, and first of all with the neighboring countries—Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey, and prospects of good relations with both Bangladesh and Pakistan.

"We have broad and many-sided relations with a number of Arab countries. The entire course of events has shown that friendship with the Soviet Union assures the progressive Arab states the necessary support and aid in their most difficult hour," said Brezhnev. "Many countries have expressed approval of resolving the Middle East problems on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions, but regrettably words are not enough. If they were buttressed by concrete political actions Israel would be compelled to agree to a peaceful settlement, to recognize the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples. As concerns the Soviet Union our readiness to contribute to this is well known."

"Our cooperation with many Latin American countries has been making considerable headway," he continued. "Beyond question this is the result of a consolidation of their independence, and of far-reaching democratic and anti-imperialist changes there. Convincing evidence of these changes is provided by the marked improvement in Latin America of the political position of heroic revolutionary Cuba. We have deep sympathy for the freedom struggle of the people of Chile, as we also have for that of the peoples of other Latin American countries. We are convinced that this struggle will be crowned with success!"

Speaking of the need of a radical turn toward peace and détente in Europe, as one of the important items in the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, Brezhnev declared that the treaties between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and between Poland and the FRG, the whole complex of agreements on West Berlin as well as the agreement on the foundations for relations between the

German Democratic Republic and the FRG, represent a breakthrough in the diplomatic blockade against the GDR. All of these are "major results of Europe's progress toward peace and security and all this is not someone's unilateral gain, but a big victory for reason and realism in international relations." Noting also the importance of the admission of the GDR and the FRG to the UN, the General Secretary continued:

"The Soviet Union will persevere in its policy of securing lasting peace in Europe. Elements of realism in the policy of many capitalist countries are ever more pronounced. First and foremost, this applies to France, whose leaders—General de Gaulle and, later, President Pompidou—set their sights several years ago on mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. This applies to the Federal Republic of Germany, where the realistic foreign policy of the government, headed by Chancellor Brandt, has exercised a considerable influence on the situation in Europe. We are ready to develop all the positive elements that are entering or have already entered the practices of our relationships with such states as our good neighbor, Finland, and also Italy, the Scandinavian and several other countries. We are ready to improve relations with those of the European countries with whom such relations have not been established."

Brezhnev indicated that the all-European conference on security and cooperation (with the US and Canada present) will apparently begin in mid-1973, and that the Soviet Union would strive to attain constructive results at the conference to benefit all its participants. He suggested it would be possible to find "a basis for some forms of business relations" between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Common Market if "the Common Market countries refrain from all attempts at discrimination against the other side, and if they assist the development of natural bilateral ties and all-European cooperation."

"One often hears that the West attaches importance to cooperation in the cultural sphere, and especially to the exchange of ideas, information and contacts between nations. We, too, are in favor of this if, of course, such cooperation is conducted with respect for the sovereignty, the laws and the customs of each country and if it promotes mutual spiritual enrichment of the people, greater confidence between them, and the ideas of peace and good neighborliness, and not a cold war spirit." He said the Soviet Union favors serious preparations for "negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe, first and foremost in the Central Europe area," and expressed

the conviction of the USSR "that wars could be eliminated from the life of the European peoples."

Concerning Soviet relations with the United States, Brezhnev recalled the 24th CPSU Congress resolution that mutually advantageous relations conformed with the interests of both peoples and of world peace, but at the same time "the Soviet Union will always firmly oppose the aggressive actions of the United States and the policy of force." He emphasized the importance of the joint agreement during President Nixon's visit that "no foundation for these relations other than peaceful coexistence is possible in the nuclear age." He expressed the Soviet determination for further progress toward agreement with the US on strategic arms reduction. Regarding the Indochina war, he warned:

"If the two countries—the USSR and the USA—will really follow the course charted jointly during the Moscow negotiations, then, we think, new substantial steps in the development of Soviet-American relations for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries and for universal peace may become possible. However—and this should be emphatically stressed—much will depend on the course of events in the immediate future, and in particular, on the question of ending the war in Vietnam."

The Soviet Union has advanced the idea of a system of collective security in Asia: "It is being alleged in some capitals that our proposal is designed to 'contain' or 'encircle' China. Such allegations are totally groundless. As we conceive the idea, the People's Republic of China will become an equal partner of such a system," said Brezhnev. The Soviet Union, for its part is also "in favor of truly good neighbor relations with Japan."

The adoption by the UN General Assembly—on Soviet initiative—of a resolution on the non-application of force in international relations, and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons for all time, was a big event in international affairs: "In accordance with this UN resolution we declare the Soviet Union's readiness to reach agreement with any of the nuclear powers on the non-use of force, including the banning of the use of nuclear weapons against one another. The CPSU has always held that the class struggle between the two systems—the capitalist and the socialist—in the economic and political, and also of course, the ideological sphere, will continue. That is as it should be, because the world outlook and the class aims of socialism and capitalism are opposite and irreconcilable. But we shall strive to shift this historically inevitable struggle onto a course free from the perils of war, of dangerous conflicts and an uncontrolled arms race."

The Path Charted by the 24th Congress

THE GENERAL Secretary, speaking of the nearly two years' effort to fulfill the major tasks set by the 24th CPSU Congress, declared:

"We Communists are restless people. We want to do as much as we can to improve the life of the people, for their happiness, and to do it as quickly as possible." The USSR is approaching the second year of the five-year plan period with results that are evidence of a considerable growth in the key industries, he said. In 1972 industrial production was double the output during all the prewar five-year plan periods. Enumerating the many industrial achievements in these five years, Brezhnev then discussed agricultural problems, and the substantial improvement in rural living standards despite shortfalls in production due to the exceptionally unfavorable weather this year. The cold and snowless winter was followed by an unprecedented drought. Even so the country's gross grain harvest reached 168 million metric tons. This, Brezhnev explained, is somewhat above the annual average grain crop during the preceding five-year plan period. Exceptionally good crops in Kazakhstan, Siberia and some regions of the Urals and swift harvesting by the working people of those areas, helped compensate for the losses.

Secretary Brezhnev emphasized that the USSR is consistently carrying out the program for the improvement of the people's standard of living. In 1971 and 1972 nearly 34 million people received increases in wages, pensions and student stipends. Some 23 million people have received new apartments during these years. While enumerating the impressive growth of Soviet economic might, Brezhnev also stressed that weak points and shortcomings remain which must be removed.

"We are, comrades," asserted Brezhnev, "building not a land of idlers where rivers flow with milk and honey, but the most organized and the most industrious society in human history. And the people living in that society will be the most industrious, conscientious, organized and politically conscious. We are thus faced with enormously important work and it will evidently take quite a long time because human psychology is remade much more slowly than the material foundations of life." Brezhnev stated in conclusion:

"A developed socialist society has been built in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin's Party. Having completed its great, historic mission the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has gradually grown into the state of the entire working people.

"The arrogant sense of superiority of one nation over another, let alone the mad idea of national or racial exclusiveness, is alien and

odious to the Soviet people. The Soviet people are internationalists. "The whole country takes pride in the labor achievements of workers and collective farmers, in the outstanding discoveries of the scientists of all our republics, in the skill of the craftsmen, in the immortal creations of the folk art of each of the fraternal nations. The fine original works of literature, painting and music of each of the Soviet peoples have long ago become our common property."

"The Soviet Union is moving towards communism. We know that the road to it will not be an easy one. The strength and energy of each of the peoples of our country and of all of them together will be needed. We know that great and inspired labor, organization, and a high level of political consciousness will be required. We also know that the Soviet people possess all these qualities and will be able to display them and achieve the great objectives before them."

Gus Hall

The US delegation to the 50th Anniversary celebration was headed by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. Henry Winston, National Chairman, and Helen Winter, International Affairs Secretary, were the other delegation members. Gus Hall's speech, in part, follows.

ON THIS historic day, marking society's loftiest achievement—the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Union—it is indeed a great honor to extend to you the greetings and heartfelt congratulations of our party, the fighters against imperialism, racism and class exploitation, the fighters for progress in the USA.

The 50 Soviet years are most meaningful of all events, the greatest socioeconomic leap in the history of human affairs. This mighty achievement without precedent stands as the living monument to the greatness of the working class. It is a testimonial to the unconquerable vitality, the inexhaustible wisdom, the irresistible power of the idea, the philosophy, the science that is Marxism-Leninism. It is a tribute to the stalwart leadership of the Communist Party.

It is 50 heroic years of building socialism, but it is more, much more. It is 50 years of undeviating working-class internationalism, 50 years of contributions—yes, of sacrifices—in the world struggle against imperialism, against its wars and oppression; 50 solid years in the corner of the world's working class, on the side of national liberation. It is a hallmark of Soviet policy that there has never been an opportunistic corrosion of the harmonious relationship between national interest and international responsibility.

It is 50 trail-blazing years in the building of a new society based on the inviolable principle of self-determination—resulting in the free welding of peoples, nations and races into a classless brotherhood in peace and equality.

The beautiful robust offspring of a society, free of class exploitation, national oppression and racial discrimination, is the multinational fraternity of the new

Soviet people. In sharp contrast, like a fog, new waves of racism and ugly racist violence pollute the air in capitalist USA.

This glorious anniversary marks a new high-water point in the building of socialism. This anniversary takes place at a moment when the forces of the world revolutionary process are taking on a new head of steam and gaining a new momentum in a new forward thrust. It also comes at a moment when world imperialism is experiencing its most difficult crisis. The postwar world capitalist structure continues to crumble. Imperialism is forced into new maneuvers and retreats.

The US imperialist cold-war Maginot-line bunkers of their proclaimed policy of "dealing from a position of strength," the cold-war emplacements of "economic blockade," of their stated object "of rolling back the borders of socialism" and policies of "containing the forces of national liberation" have turned into bunkers of self-isolation.

Imperialism maneuvers, it retreats, it growls, it counterattacks, but never gives up its aggressive treachery and deception.

Kissinger's serpent-like double dealing at the Paris conference table and now the criminal escalation of the bombing in Vietnam exposes to the world the barbarous nature of US imperialism. For the people of the United States, Nixon's refusal to sign the October agreement and the resumption of his fiendish bombing of Hanoi is a call for an escalation of the struggle against the criminal war. US imperialism must receive the full weight, the wrath of world public opinion against this latest act of infamy.

This is a moment when the forces of progress can win decisive offensive battles. It is a moment when unity can move reactionary mountains. But it is also a moment when the creation of divisions in the ranks of anti-imperialist forces has emerged as the main weapon in the arsenal of imperialism.

In this period of history, the crude, opportunistic policies followed by the Mao Tse-tung-Chou En-lai leadership have emerged as a central instrument of disruption and division. They serve the forces of counter-revolution. Their preachments drip with falsehoods and anti-Soviet provocation.

These are policies that the revolutionary forces of the world cannot pass off in opportunistic silence. These are matters that must be of general concern because they effect the forces of the world revolutionary process.

Yes, the 50 Soviet years is many things. It is the building of socialism. It is proletarian internationalism.

In the world of capitalism, the hungry man seeking work to care for his family, the uncared for, the aged and sick, all dream of the economic security of the Soviet worker.

The youth facing conscription and death in imperialist war as in Vietnam, hearken to the Soviet peace policy.

The insulted and the injured by race discrimination, in the slums and ghettos of the industrial cities of capitalism, yearn for the equal brotherhood and security of the more than 100 nationalities in the 15 republics of the USSR.

Yes, the 50 years of socialist construction in the USSR is the beacon of hope for the world's alienated, the frustrated, the countless millions "yearning to be free." It is the source of confidence for the fighters against capitalist exploitation. It is the inspiration to the millions on all continents fighting for national liberation. It opens up the path to the victims of racist oppression.

The 50th Anniversary of the Soviet state sends out the message: human society does have an ever-brighter future.

To the Peoples of the World

WE, representatives of more than 100 nations and nationalities of the USSR, gathered in Moscow on the 50th Anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, address to all the peoples of the world this message of peace, friendship and brotherhood.

Having performed a socialist revolution and established the workers' and peasants' power, the working people of the Land of Soviets were the first to tackle the great aim of uniting the peoples of this vast country in order to build a society free from the exploitation of man by man, to put an end to hostility between nations, to organize their life together on the basis of trust and friendship, and to establish a fraternal unity of peoples.

Throughout the history of mankind, from hoary antiquity to our time, there has been an uninterrupted succession of tribal, racial and national conflicts. Time and again, countries and peoples were plunged into the vortex of calamities and sufferings, steeping whole continents in blood. For thousands of years the best minds strove to find a way out of this state of affairs, but encountered the solid wall of domination thrown up by the exploiters, which breeds and sustains national oppression.

Today, the whole world is witness to the fact that the Soviet people, inspired and led by their Communist Party, have effectuated their audacious plan. The magnificent vision of a new, socialist type of multinational state—a mighty voluntary union of free peoples welded by friendship and brotherhood—has become a reality.

The chronicle of all the multinational states before the October Revolution is a record of a continuous aggravation of national antagonisms. The Soviet Union's development has followed an entirely different pattern, a steady consolidation of its economic, political and spiritual foundations; the peoples constituting it have been drawing together and uniting ever more closely.

Our success is not a miracle, not a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances; it is profoundly natural. The Soviet people leaned on the victory of the Great October Revolution. They were inspired by the socialist principles of the development of peoples in a multinational family, propounded by the immortal Lenin. They were and are being led by the Communist Party, equipped with a truly scientific theory for transforming society and unwavering in its loyalty to the cause of the working class, of the whole working people.

In the historic battle for socialism, the working people of all nations and nationalities of our country united around the working class. And it was on the socialist basis that they jointly rooted out national oppression and overcame the backwardness of nations stemming from their colonial past. Our whole system and way of life are permeated with the spirit of internationalism, because socialism and the Leninist policy of the friendship of peoples, have long since and forever triumphed in our country.

On this day of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the USSR we express our heartfelt gratitude to the working people of all countries, who invariably show their solidarity with the world's first socialist multinational state.

We address our gratitude to those who came out against the intervention of the imperialist states under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia!" To those who were on our side in the life and death struggle against fascism; to those who are working shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the Soviet Union

and the other socialist countries to consolidate peace, thwarting the criminal designs of the imperialist aggressors.

When founding the Soviet Union and laying the foundation stones of its edifice, Lenin and the Communist Party gave thought to the future not only of our own country. Their vision ranged over the future of all mankind. They were convinced that the establishment of a socialist multinational state devoid of oppression and exploitation would help all people in the world to advance along the way to emancipation. Looking back on the past 50 years, we can be proud that in all these years the Soviet Union has invariably sided with those who were fighting for the freedom and happiness of the peoples, and has always done its utmost for the victory of their just cause.

The present epoch is marked by social changes on a scale unprecedented in history. Having triumphed at first in our country, socialism was victorious in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America, giving rise to the world socialist system. The socialist community is a powerful force for worldwide progress.

Under the mighty onslaught of the national liberation movement, inspired by the example of the working people of the socialist countries, and benefiting from their support, colonial empires collapsed and many once-oppressed peoples took the path of independent development.

We send heartfelt greetings to the peoples of the socialist countries, building a new society.

We address fraternal greetings to the working class and the working people of the capitalist countries seeking deliverance from exploitation and from political and spiritual enslavement.

We express our solidarity with the peoples who have recently taken the path of social progress, with those who are firmly defending the sovereignty and independence of their young states in a hard struggle against neocolonialism and domestic reaction.

Huge masses of people, who now have a real possibility of determining their own destiny, have been drawn into world politics. The ideas of socialism, the ideas of freedom and equality of peoples, the ideas of national independence, are winning the minds of hundreds of millions. In our time, mankind possesses vast productive forces. The scientific and technological revolution is speeding up their development on an unparalleled scale and widening the horizons of knowledge.

For the peoples it is becoming increasingly intolerable to see that many crucial problems of the modern world remain unresolved, while, far from being eradicated, the social calamities born of capitalism are growing.

It is a fact that to this day fear of the morrow, social injustice and national and racial oppression reign in huge parts of the globe, where the luxury enjoyed by an insignificant minority adjoins the poverty of millions. An existence on the border of starvation remains the lot of entire peoples. All this is the result of colonialism and imperialist tyranny.

Though there has been no world war for over a quarter of a century, there is no place for complacency. The United States continues its disgraceful aggression in Vietnam. US imperialism deliberately delays the signing of the agreement on ending the war. It has again resumed the barbarous bombing raids on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Thousands of innocent people perish.

Arab territories are still overrun by Israeli occupiers.

The earth is still being defiled by colonial and racist regimes, and all this is taking place in the final third of the 20th century.

The Soviet people, jointly with all other peace-loving peoples, wrathfully protest against the crimes of US imperialism on Vietnamese soil. We confirm again our immutable solidarity with and resolute support for the heroic Vietnamese people as well as for the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and express firm conviction that their just cause will triumph!

We reaffirm our resolute support for the fighters against imperialist aggression in the Arab East, and the peoples fighting against colonial domination.

The peoples have to pay a contribution of many millions to militarism. These funds, so acutely needed for peaceful, constructive purposes, for improving the living standards of the working people, are being spent on enlarging and modernizing a war machine that in the hands of imperialism continues to be a grave threat to peace.

Of ever-growing significance to mankind is the struggle against the danger stemming from the steadily deteriorating natural environment, the contamination of the air, the seas and the rivers, and the pollution of cities.

We, representatives of the Soviet people, appeal to the peoples of the world, to all people regardless of nationality, creed or color, to unite and resolve these pressing problems.

We call on the peoples to unite and step up their efforts to preserve and strengthen peace, eliminate the war danger and the flashpoints of imperialist aggression, and translate into practice the UN resolutions on the non-application of force in international relations and on the banning for all time of nuclear weapons and other means of mass annihilation.

We call on the peoples to unite and vitalize their efforts further to strengthen the positions of socialism, to consolidate the independence of countries that have shaken off the fetters of colonialism, and to secure the total abolition of colonial oppression.

We call on the peoples to unite and strengthen their efforts to uproot hunger, poverty, social injustice, national oppression and inequality.

We call on the peoples to unite and increase their efforts to safeguard man's cultural and moral values against reactionary ideology, the venom of racism, chauvinism and fascism.

We call on the peoples to unite and intensify their efforts to preserve and restore man's natural environment.

On behalf of the Soviet people and before all mankind we solemnly declare that our country will remain unshakably true to the lofty ideals of the friendship of peoples, of freedom and socialism. On the basis of the peace program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU we shall tirelessly work for the consolidation of the socialist community; for a further relaxation of international tension and for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; for the national independence, mutual respect and friendship of peoples; for the improvement of the life of working people and the social progress of all mankind.

May lasting peace on earth, freedom and the national independence of peoples, triumph! Let everyone take part in the struggle for these lofty, humane aims! Let everyone make his contribution to the attainment of mankind's cherished aspirations to live in peace, freedom and social progress!

December 22, 1972

YADGAR NASRIDDINOVA

Family of Soviet Nations: A Beacon for Our Epoch

Yadgar Nasriddinova is Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, one of the highest posts in the land. Nothing could be more symbolic of the full equality achieved by all the Soviet peoples and especially by the women of Soviet Central Asia.

Born in Uzbekistan in 1920, Mme. Nasriddinova was orphaned in infancy by the death of her father, fieldhand of a rich landlord, and forced marriage soon after (before Soviet power was fully established) of her widowed mother, still in her teens, to a man who insisted the little girl be abandoned. Raised and educated in an orphanage, Yadgar was graduated as a civil engineer from the Tashkent Engineering Institute. She played a leading role in the construction of the Great Ferghana Canal, the new coalfields and other projects vital to the upbuilding of Uzbekistan.

As secretary of the republic's Communist youth organization, Nasriddinova made an important contribution to her country's defense against the Nazi invaders. After the war, when her high intelligence, abilities and warm human qualities had become widely known to her people, she rose to top posts in the Uzbek Government Ministries in the fields of construction and transport and in 1959 was elected President of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Re-elected twice, she held this post until July 1970, when she was elected Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, one of the two equal houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Yadgar Nasriddinova has travelled widely in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America on important missions, including a Parliamentary delegation to the United States. Her son is a math graduate, her daughter is studying architecture at the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute.

ECONOMIC achievements often serve as the main criterion in judging a state. From this point of view, the transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward agrarian country into a leading world industrial power is unquestionably an outstanding phenomenon. But when I think of my country's record in the last half century, I see its greatest achievement not in its indisputable economic attainments but in the great moral contribution of the USSR to the complex system of human relations. For the first time in history, the age-old problem of relations among nationalities has been resolved on a scientific foundation and with maximum justice, in a state containing

over a hundred nationalities and various races, languages and religions. The multinational USSR is now a fraternal union of peoples brought together by their common goal—the construction of communism.

This contribution of the Soviet Union is particularly important in our time, when national, racial and religious dissent and prejudice are shattering many industrially advanced states.

Laying the foundations of the world's first socialist state, Lenin worked for the creation of a voluntary union of nations based on complete confidence and fraternal unity.

It was not possible, of course, to build such a union overnight. Relations among people of different races and nationalities involve subtle psychological sentiments and ancient traditions. Great tact was needed, as the distrust and alienation accumulated through many generations were particularly tenacious in this sphere. The USSR was built with the efforts of all the Soviet peoples. Chauvinism, with its national conceit and contempt for other peoples, and national egoism, with its alienation from other nations and mistrust of them, were being overcome step by step.

The victory of the Revolution in 1917, which abolished the old order based on national discrimination and proclaimed and ensured by law the complete equality of peoples in all spheres of economic, sociopolitical and cultural life, was the decisive prerequisite for resolving the national question, setting up a new type of relations among peoples and changing the sociopolitical aspect of nations themselves.

Leninist Principles of National State Development

IMMEDIATELY after the Revolution, the young Soviet state began to implement the principles of national-state development worked out by Lenin. These Leninist principles, of tremendous international importance, have a number of important features.

First, the guarantee of the sovereignty and actual equality of all the nations. On November 16, 1917, the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia was adopted. That document proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to free self-determination right down to secession and formation of an independent state; abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia. The principle of ensuring the sovereignty and actual equality of all the peoples is embodied in the present constitutional guarantees, taking into account both the will of a people and objective conditions, and providing equal rep-

resentation (corresponding with forms of national statehood) in the highest organs of power.

Second, the Declaration proclaimed the principle of voluntary unification and free development of the peoples. Lenin pointed out repeatedly that only socialism provides the possibility of satisfying people's real spiritual and material requirements and aspirations. "We want," Lenin said, "a voluntary union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolute voluntary consent."

This guarantee of the right of free secession was implemented when on December 6, 1917, the Finnish Diet decided to secede from Russia. The Finnish delegation visited Lenin soon after that and, on the eve of the year 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation recognized the independence of Finland.* The other peoples of the former Russian empire did not express a desire to secede.

Third, the building up of their own statehood in one form or another by all the peoples. By the end of 1922, the Bokhara and Khorezm people's Soviet republics were already in existence, together with the independent socialist republics—the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (including Azerbaidzhan, Armenia and Georgia). The Bashkir, Tatar, Karelian, Udmurt, Chuvash, Daghestan and Yakut Autonomous Republics were formed within the Russian Federation, and other autonomous entities appeared after that. At present, the Soviet Union comprises 15 sovereign Union Republics which include 20 Autonomous Republics, 8 Autonomous Regions and 10 National Areas.

The multinational composition of our Union is reflected in the structure of the highest organ of state power. One of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—the Soviet of Nationalities—is elected by Soviet citizens voting by Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas. All 53 national-state forma-

* The case of Poland was different. More recently absorbed than Finland by the Tsarist Empire, it suffered new partitions and over a century of occupation by the latter. Soviet Russia renounced all claims over Poland in March 1918, and the Polish Republic was proclaimed, after liberation from Austro-German occupation in World War I, in November 1918. Subsequently the Entente used Poland as a battering ram in its counter-revolutionary assault against the young Soviet Republic and in 1919 Poland seized part of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Poland was driven back and the fighting was ended by a peace treaty in March 1921, with mutual recognition of sovereignty.—Ed.

tions are represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies of 62 nationalities were elected to the Eighth Supreme Soviet in 1972.

Fourth, democratic centralism, reflecting the unity and harmonious combination of international and national interests of every republic and of the entire multinational state as a whole, is a major organizational-political principle of state development. The essence of democratic centralism lies in the unity of two interconnected aspects: *centralism*, based on the socialist nature of production with its inherent principles of planning and management of the national economy, carried out under single guidance from central authorities, which precludes anarchistic decentralization of production; and *democracy*, based on extensive development of initiative, self-sufficiency and activity of the local bodies, with proper consideration for national distinguishing features and conditions. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. Every Union Republic exercises state authority independently; its sovereignty is restricted only to the degree in which it has voluntarily ceded part of its rights, specially stipulated in the USSR Constitution, to the jurisdiction of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Every Union Republic has its own Constitution, its highest organs of state power and administration and its legislation; it also endorses its own plan and budget.

The formation of a single multinational state of workers and peasants—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—by the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, December 30, 1922, was prompted by the entire course of the country's historical development. By 1922, with the Civil War and foreign armed intervention of 14 nations just ended, the international position of the Soviet republics was tense and complicated. The danger of fresh military gambles of counterrevolution and the imperialist states was still great. The need to build up a reliable front of all the Soviet republics to safeguard their military security was a compelling reason for the formation of the USSR.

Another reason was the need to restore the war-ravaged economy and ensure the economic development of the Soviet republics. It was clear to all the peoples at the time that such a complex economic task could be solved only on the basis of fraternal aid from the more industrially and culturally developed republics, first of all the RSFSR.

The third reason for the formation of the USSR stemmed from the very international nature of Soviet power, in the practical implementation of the Leninist idea of the fraternal cooperation of the working people of all the republics and their unification within a close-knit socialist family.

Soviet federation radically differs from bourgeois federation which is based on the oppression of smaller, weaker and less economically developed nations by one ruling bourgeois nation. Soviet federation is a union of equal peoples led by the Communist Party. It provides the necessary state forms and offers most favorable conditions for attracting all nations and nationalities of the USSR to the common cause of socialist construction. This is the main, class, distinction, one of the most important specific features of Soviet federation.

Soviet federation has made it possible to take into account—in the course of socialist construction and the working out of national economic plans of the country and its budget—both the interests, specific needs and national features of the Union and Autonomous Regions and National Areas, and the common interests of the Union as a whole. The riches of each republic are used to promote both its own interest and those of the country as a whole.

There are other essential differences between the USSR and bourgeois types of federation. For example, the territory of a Union Republic may not be altered without its consent, the right to secede freely from the USSR is reserved to the Union Republics, and they exercise state power independently, except in fields defined in the USSR constitution.

Fruits of Soviet National Policy—Women's Emancipation

IN THE past 50 years, profound socioeconomic changes have occurred in all the Union Republics; national cadres have grown up; the culture of the peoples has progressed; the working people of all nationalities have been provided with everything necessary for active participation in the development of science, engineering and culture.

In the economic sphere, the tackling of the national question was started with the elimination of the actual inequality inherited from capitalism. The evening up of economic, social and cultural standards is a general characteristic of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in all multinational socialist states. This stems from the very nature of the socialist relations of production based on the mutual assistance and cooperation of peoples free of exploitation, and from the economic law of planned and balanced development. Fraternal assistance to previously backward peoples by advanced nations is also determined by a complete identity of the vital interests and aims of the nations which have taken the road to socialism. The tremendous complexity of this problem in the conditions of Russia sprang from the great unevenness in socioeconomic and cultural standards. It required the most strenuous work by the party

and the entire people in overcoming economic, technical and cultural backwardness.

In the liquidation of the inequality of the formerly backward peoples a special role was played by the Russian people whose revolutionary energy, selflessness, industriousness and profound internationalism have earned them the sincere respect of all the nations of our socialist country.

The following figures indicate the high rate of industrial development in the formerly backward national areas. In the period between 1913 and 1940, the increase in the gross output of large-scale industry was 12-fold on the average for the USSR as a whole; 22.6-fold for the Armenian SSR; 19.6-fold for the Kazakh SSR; 153-fold for the Kirghiz SSR; and 277-fold for the Tadzhik SSR.

The socialist transformation of agriculture was highly important for the elimination of the actual inequality of the peoples. Many nomadic peoples took up a settled way of life and organized collective farms. Previously waste tracts of land are now being used rationally; new highly productive lines of agriculture, new crops, and extensive mechanization have been introduced.

The assistance of the developed nations to the previously backward peoples in all fields of economic and cultural life must not be regarded as "overlordship" or "guardianship." One-sided assistance very soon turned into the mutual assistance of all the Soviet peoples, because under socialism, selfless assistance is necessarily combined with the extensive creative activity of the formerly oppressed peoples themselves in the socialist transformation of life.

Developing various branches of industry and agriculture in accordance with their natural resources and other conditions, every one of the Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas makes its important contribution to the common cause of communist construction. Every republic works for the whole country, while the whole country works for every one of the republics.

Almost three-fourths of the Soviet population were illiterate before the Revolution, and illiteracy among many nationalities was close to 100 per cent. More than 40 peoples of the Soviet land acquired a written language and literature of their own after the Revolution.

About 80,000,000 Soviet people now go in for one or another form of studies. Specialists in all fields of economy and culture are trained at 800-odd colleges and more than 4,200 specialized secondary establishments in all Union Republics. Every fourth scientist in the world is a Soviet scientist. And there are representatives of all nationalities among Soviet scientists.

Illiteracy and even semi-literacy receded into the past long ago in the Central Asian republics, as indeed in all the other republics. There are, for example, 189 students per every 10,000 of population in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic; 154 in Byelorussia; 161 in Kirghizia; 152 in Kazakhstan; and 131 in Turkmenia. And yet there was not a single college in these republics before the revolution.

The emancipation of women, particularly in the Central Asian republics, is a major gain of the Soviet people. One has to think of the past with its ruthless oppression, humiliation, ignorance and poverty. In Central Asia, for example, women were separated from the other part of humanity by the black veil they were forced to wear; they were looked upon as inferior beings whom one could kill without fear of punishment or sell like an inanimate thing. Protest often meant death.

After the Revolution, monstrous laws on the inequality of women were annulled in the Soviet Union. The decrees on the protection of the mother and child, on equal pay to women for equal work with men, on the equality of men and women in family relations and many other legislative acts, promulgated in the very first year of Soviet power, were evidence of the tremendous concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for working women, for drawing them to creative activity, to socio-political life.

There are 463 women among Soviet MPs today. Women account for almost 46 per cent of the deputies to the local Soviets. We, Soviet women, have attained these summits due to the leadership of the Communist Party, to the socialist social system, to the friendship and fraternity of all the peoples of our country. Women, who lacked every right in the past, are taking an active part on a par with men in all the diversified, busy activity of the land.

The 24th CPSU Congress, held in the spring of 1971, outlined new impressive prospects for the construction of communism. It pointed out that in guiding the further development of national relations the CPSU will continue to encourage the objective tendencies—the all-round flowering and gradual drawing together of the nations, permitting neither hostility nor isolation. This is possible only on the basis of the permanent close relationship among the free socialist nations in the process of the construction of a communist society. The drawing closer together of nations is not a simple mechanical merger. It is expressed in the strengthening of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the peoples. This is why both tendencies are inseparable aspects of a single process of the development of national relations under socialism.

This new historic community—the Soviet people—is not a supranational but a multinational community. Its emergence and development are a result of the victory of socialism, the solution of the national question, the drawing together and the close alliance of all the classes, social groups, nations and nationalities and the political and moral unity of the Soviet society.

The 24th CPSU Congress paid special attention to the necessity of strengthening the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet land and intensifying the education of the working people in the spirit of internationalism. "The Party," Leonid I. Brezhnev said at the Congress, "shall continue to educate all the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, intolerance of nationalism, chauvinism, national narrowness and conceit in any form, in a spirit of profound respect for all nations and nationalities."

Years will go by, followed by decades. Mankind will be inevitably getting nearer the attainment of its ideal—the world brotherhood of peoples. Generations of people to come will always remember the diversified social experience of the Soviet Union, the pioneer who had paved the right way to the friendship and unity of nations. The emergence of the USSR is the triumph of the socio-political ideals of the multimillion masses of working people, an event of major importance in the history of social progress.

BERDYNAZAR KHUDAINAZAROV

The Burning Steppe

Excerpts from a poem about the builders of the
Karakum Canal

*Dry desert summer,
Sleepless night of toil:
Then, like a miracle, created by us,
Water fills the Karakum!*

*It flows now in a sparkling stream,
Splashing about everywhere.
The singing rush of water came
Like the fulfillment of a hope.*

BERDYNAZAR KHUDAINAZAROV is a well-known Turkmenian poet.

*Farewell, trees of Lebab,
Nightingales of midnight gardens!
Farther and farther westward
My heroes are marching.*

*Above them, the cloudless dome
Spreads, clear and high,
Beneath their feet, hot as burning coals,
Stretches the crunching, rolling sand.*

*We dig into the hills of sand,
A desert of dust swirls up.
Drinking water brings no ease,
The sweat cannot be wiped away.*

*The motors drone, throbbing angrily,
And our leader, watching closely,
Sees a high gush of water
Spouting steadily from the main pump.*

*They pass, one after another,
The blizzards, the heat, the cold;
And then, the miracle, created by us:
Water fills the Karakum.*

*We gaze on it in wonder,
Touch it with our hands,
Thus it was envisioned in our dreams,
Thus it was given life by our toil.*

*Winter does not linger long,
Driven away by the residual heat.
And I am sorry for one who hasn't seen
My Karakum in the spring!*

*He has not seen those magic colors,
Their marvelous diversity,
Nor plucked the golden tulips—
Those flowers of yellow flame.*

*There are dewdrops on the poppies,
The swan spreads its wings in flight.*

*The most callous hearts
I swear, must melt, like ice.*

*The burning sands haven't cooled,
The sun blazes on, as always,
Yet, breaking the law of the desert,
The water flows into Karakum!*

*And in the front lines,
As in the still recent days of war,
That glorious generation toiled—
My country's Communist youth.*

*Accept our unswerving challenge,
Burning steppe, until the very end!
Communist youth will not yield.
Their hearts will always be steadfast.*

Translated by MATTHEW KAHAN
with the editorial assistance of
NAN BRAYMER

HENRY WINSTON

National Chairman, Communist Party, USA

THE ESTABLISHMENT of the world's first socialist multinational state in December 1922 was a historic event, graphically demonstrating the power of the idea of proletarian internationalism and the vitality of the Leninist national policy.

In the joint struggle of the peoples who overthrew the former Russian empire and gained their social emancipation, the national prejudices and mutual distrust of the past were removed and new relations based on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance began to take shape. The abolition of the exploiter classes, the establishment of public ownership of the means of production, constituted the socioeconomic basis of the formation of an international community unprecedented in history. This resulted in a community of Soviet people voluntarily united in a single state based on the principles of full equality, with common aims and interests which united more than 100 nationalities, big and small. The consistent application of the Leninist national policy has made it possible for the peoples of the USSR, including those who lived in the past under the conditions of a feudal and even primitive communal system, to rise to the level of highly developed nations that are marching today in the van of world progress.

GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.

National Liberation in the USSR, Viewed by a Black American

ONE OF MY DEEPEST concerns in visiting the Soviet Union with a mainly Black delegation in the summer of 1971, was to see the actual working out in practice of the Soviet national policy. The full flowering of this policy was brought home to us especially in our visits to the two Soviet Socialist Republics of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan. It was a great delight for all of us to be among these darker peoples, who in the past have known only the slave-like conditions of a feudal society and have now leaped over the era of capitalism directly into a socialist society, where exploitation of man by man has been abolished. We saw in this the clear meaning of Soviet power, which had accomplished this tremendous advance through the application in life of scientific socialism, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We noted particularly how the women of these two socialist republics, who had been slaves to the men of their families as well as to the emirs and landlords, were walking now in freedom and dignity, their beautiful faces open and unveiled.

In these two Central Asian republics, as well as throughout our tour of the Soviet Union, what we saw of the liberation and full equality of both men and women of the darker skinned peoples made us feel that there is hope for us in our own freedom struggle.

In addition to the great economic advances which have transformed these formerly backward areas into modern states, utilizing the latest achievements in science and technology in both factories and farms, we were impressed with the respect and love shown by people of all races and nationalities and colors for their writers and

GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR. is a member of the staff of the Afro-American newspapers. He is a Board Member of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and of NEW WORLD REVIEW and a contributing editor of *Freedomways*. The first report of his trip, "Black Delegation Visits the USSR," appeared in NWR #4, 1972. A series of ten articles on this trip was published in the Afro-American papers, and a comprehensive account of the trip is being prepared for publication in book form by Mr. Murphy.

poets, and the rich opportunities for creative writing the latter enjoy.

With the aid of thousands of teachers, experts in philology and linguistics, the USSR has opened up a completely new life for millions of people, enabling them to experience for the first time the joy of learning and speaking and writing in their own language. New poets, writers and composers are discovered each year among the many nationalities. Their works, published both in their own language and in other languages of the USSR, are a major unifying force in the drawing together of nations and the enrichment of Soviet culture.

In discussions with members of the Union of Soviet Writers and the editorial staff of the magazine *Friendship of the Peoples*, we learned that Soviet writers deeply appreciate the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes and others of the older generation, and want to know more about the younger Black poets, playwrights and authors on the US literary scene today.

In every republic the national language is the official language with Russian, the second language, almost as universally known. New talents are constantly being sought among all the Soviet people. We learned that the Nivkhi people living on Sakhalin Island, where the population is only 3,800, already have a poet of their own whose fame has spread over the Soviet Union.

IN TASHKENT, capital of the Uzbek Republic, we learned that the Uzbeks, a dark, swarthy-skinned people, constitute 67 per cent of its 13 million population, the Russians 13 per cent. Numerous other peoples make up the remaining 20 per cent, including 107,000 Jews, living mainly in Tashkent. While there are some native Jews in Bokhara, most of those in Tashkent, and their families, are among those the Soviet Government helped to escape from Hitler's invading armies in 1941. They were given refuge in Uzbekistan and other republics. There have been many intermarriages between Jewish and other peoples, in fact among all the various nationalities.

Touring the beautiful city we saw the vast rebuilding effort which had followed the severe 1966 earthquake, when all the Soviet peoples came to their aid. It included hundreds of handsome new apartment buildings, the largest department store in Central Asia, hospitals, schools, libraries, cultural centers, parks, broad tree-lined boulevards, many named after famous Uzbek poets, philosophers and scientists whose names reach far back in history. We also saw a mosque, about to be refurbished. While the majority of the citizens of this Moslem country have given up the practice of the Islam religion, those who

have retained their religious faith are still summoned to prayer from the mosque's minaret, since the practice of their religion, as of other religions, is protected by both the USSR and the Uzbek Constitutions.

Wherever we went in Uzbekistan, in Tashkent, fabled Samarkand, visiting collective farms and the great irrigation project transforming the Hungry Steppe, we found ourselves, as Black people, surrounded with special love and affection by people who reached out to touch and embrace us. And everywhere Angela Davis buttons brought smiles of recognition and anxious questions about the prospects for her freedom—since won with the help of these same people and many others of socialist and other lands.

IN DUSHAMBE, capital of the neighboring Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic, we saw again, as we had in Uzbekistan, the rich colors of Soviet Central Asia blending harmoniously with more modern Western architecture. Tadzhikistan is one of the most fascinating of the smaller Soviet Republics. It has a population of about three million, 76 per cent of whom are Tadzhiks and Uzbeks, the rest of many other nationalities.

In Tadzhikistan nature has formed a permanent monument to our own Paul Robeson. The Soviet peoples have named one of the highest peaks of the Pamirs, among the lofty ranges running through Tadzhikistan, "Mt. Paul Robeson," in honor of his great contributions to world peace and friendship among peoples. The Tadzhik people, like peoples all over the Soviet Union, remember Paul's rich baritone voice speaking and singing in many languages, linking the freedom struggles of our people to the liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Mme. N. Zaripova, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tadzhikistan, welcoming us to their capitol building, said: "The doors of the Tadzhik people are always open to friends. You are seeing with your own eyes our new society, and why all Soviet peoples want peace." The struggle for peace was emphasized in everything we heard and saw.

We saw in Tadzhikistan many people and institutions that showed us vividly the accomplishments of the Soviet national policy in this area, once among the most backward sections of the Soviet Union, and learned some significant overall facts. To date more than 400 industries have been established. The Republic stands first not only in the number of mothers with 5 to 12 children, but first in the production of fine-thread cotton and refrigerators, second in production of aluminum and electric power, fourth in the building of huge

hydroelectric power stations to irrigate the land. Development in marble, lead, gold, and other minerals is racing with the development of new oil and gas discoveries.

Visiting the impressive Firdousi Public Library, named after the famous Tadzhik poet, philosopher and mathematician, we learned that among its nearly two million volumes are 2,000 rare and priceless manuscripts, including a copy of the Koran from the tenth century. Hundreds of people come daily to the library—the large reading room was crowded. We were witnessing a phenomenon common to every republic of the USSR, millions of people eagerly learning and devouring their rich and ancient classics. The working people of Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and other republics are discovering their ancient history and culture through magnificent museums rich with constantly growing archeological displays.

Since ancient times silkworms have been bred in Tadzhikistan. We visited a silk factory with 2,500 workers, mostly women, and all the modern amenities for workers' well-being and child care. The factory manager told us that during the five-year plan period the factory would be modernized still more, with the introduction of highly automated machinery. We were surprised to learn that this plant is unprofitable and has to be subsidized by the government, and asked: "Why not produce nylon then?" He smiled as he answered: "Our scientists have found that nylon does not permit the body to breathe properly. Silk does, so we produce silk because in our country the health and well-being of the working people comes first." In a few words he had given us the difference in aims between socialism and capitalism. We got the message loud and clear.

ONE OF the most soul-stirring experiences of our trip was meeting the diplomatic representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam (South) in Moscow. In spite of the indescribable suffering and death that has distorted the orderly development of their lives for more than a quarter of a century, these wonderful people wear their four thousand years of Vietnamese culture with dignity and grace. Only poets can reveal the secret of this people's fortitude in the face of death-dealing, winged engines of destruction from the skies. Only poets can give us an understanding of the seeds of strength bound up in the brown beauty of the Vietnamese people.

During our talks the Vietnamese told us of their profound understanding of the struggles of American Black people, learned from their revered Ho Chi Minh who spent some years in the United States.

On our part there were tears expressing our deep affection for the brave men, women and children of Vietnam, tears that made clear the oneness of their struggles and of their victory, which will be a victory of all the world's peoples fighting for peace, against imperialist aggression. All of us expressed our anger, horror and shame at the murderous deeds of our government against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We pledged to continue our efforts to stop the carnage, and to find a way, when the war is over, to help repair the terrible damage.

A sudden decision to go to Moscow with the delegation of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship to the International Meeting of Friendship Societies prevents me from further expansion of this article, but will enable me to carry direct greetings to the Soviet people on this anniversary, and gratitude for their determined struggle for the freedom of peoples and against racism, repression and genocidal war.

RUBEN YANYES

The Goal: Create the New Man

IT IS no easy task to describe in just a few words the great variety of impressions received during my recent short, but extremely eventful visit to the USSR. I would not like this difficulty to reduce my story to a simple enumeration of the amazing successes which one sees at every step and which testify to the tremendous achievements of the Soviet people. I wish to share my impressions not of time spent in Moscow, Leningrad and Yerevan, but to express my ideas regarding one of the most colossal achievements which explains all the other successes scored by the USSR; I have in mind—Soviet man.

The creation of the new Soviet man was the great goal of the October Revolution and this now constitutes the real sum total of the fifty-year experience currently observed by all mankind.

Having seen with my own eyes the life of Soviet people, I have come to the conclusion that the slogans of peace and proletarian internationalism are not purely theoretical, but have turned into a way of life for a whole nation, into a real perspective for all humanity. The new Soviet man is to be found throughout the vast territory of the Soviet Union, because there is no corner where the liberating

RUBEN YANYES is Professor of Philosophy at the Uruguay National University, and Vice-President of the Uruguay-Soviet Institute of Cultural Relations.

force of Lenin's ideas has not penetrated. This force has given birth not to uniformity, but has brought to life creative and life-giving activity in all its national diversity. In this sense the USSR constitutes the highest stage in the embodiment of humanism, a humanism expressed in the high estimation of labor, the purpose of which lies not only in the satisfaction of the needs of Soviet people, but in helping all the other peoples of the world striving for liberation. This humanism not only brought to life the highest culture in the world, but has made it serve all the people.

I met and became acquainted with many Soviet people. Among them were Armenian collective farmers and Moscow workers, actors of the Gorky Drama Theater in Leningrad and the directors of the Moscow Art Theater, painters of Yerevan and Armenian experts in ancient manuscripts, schoolteachers and university rectors, as well as my colleagues—teachers and professors in philosophy faculties. Their human simplicity and unaffectedness, calm pride in their people and confidence in the achievement of the targets they have set seemed to be today's incarnation of the image of the man who was called Lenin.

JAMES ALDRIDGE

From Romance to Reality

WHEN I was a boy living in an Australian country town there used to be an old aboriginal woman who would sometimes come in from the bush on Saturday, market day, and wander along the crowded main streets filled with farmers and townspeople and youth. She would be trying to sell a remarkable floral totem which she had made out of parrot feathers. It was something to do with her native art and almost certainly with her tribal rituals. It was very beautiful, delicate and perfectly made.

The old lady was known in the town as Queen Aggie because she was supposed to be the last "queen" of the original tribe who had once lived in that area, and had long ago been expelled or wiped out by white settlers. Aggie was usually dressed in rags, wore

JAMES ALDRIDGE is a distinguished British novelist and non-fiction writer. Born in Australia, of British parents, he is widely traveled, a frequent visitor to the USSR, lived in Cairo for many years and now lives in London. Among his best known books are *The Diplomat*, *Heroes of the Empty View* and *Cairo, Biography of a City*.

a man's hat, and when she finally sold her totem flower to some amused farmer, she would buy a few small bags of flour and sugar and simply disappear again.

She wasn't really a queen, and the legend was a sort of joke. So we never discovered what was the real significance of the feathered flower. We never learned from her what she was, or what had happened to her tribe. We knew nothing in that town, because there was little awareness that the white settler had simply annihilated another culture, another art, another people—however primitive.

I suppose that was my first lesson in what the conquest of Australia had done to its indigenous people. I think the first thing I ever had published was a bitter poem attacking the way the Australian aborigine was treated, which my father published in his paper.

Now, of course, the treatment of minority peoples in Australia, the US, South Africa, and Rhodesia are part of the popular cause of all intelligent Western youth. There wasn't any great movement against apartheid in Britain fifty years ago. Until two or three years ago there were some clubs in Britain run by the local Labor Parties that would not admit a Black man if they could help it. So the attitude on racialism and other cultures is not something that many people in the West have been aware of for long. Before the war anybody who spoke up for the Black man was automatically a "communist."

About all that we were officially offered in those days was the teaching of Christ, which was "civilizing" Africa. But even as children we discovered that missionary work and trade had exploited colonial countries together. There was no more salvation in Christianity for Africa or India or Malaya or Arabia than there was in the gunboat and the airplane and the bomb.

Inevitably when one became a socialist, one began to look for the socialist solution to the problems of mixed communities, of race and varied cultures. From the outset this was one of the clearest lessons that the young USSR was teaching the world, and from the outset the Soviet attitude to its minorities, to its incredible number of different cultures, was one of the most appealing aspects of the society, even to a non-communist.

Not everybody understood at first the incredible problem the USSR was facing in its attempts to organize one community, and at the same time to maintain the cultural and national differences of so many different nationalities. Obviously the real problem was the difference in existing social and economic conditions. So how did

socialism deal with the difference? Was the socialism that built the Dnieper dam in the Ukraine the same kind of socialism that was dealing with the Yakuts who hunted fur in the arctic tundra? Where was the link? What was the common denominator?

Sometimes I used to look down the lists of the autonomous regions and wonder what sort of people they all were. How did they live? What was their history? Who were the Bashkirs, the Daghestanis, the Kabardinians, the Komis, the Maris, the Mordovians, the Ossetians, the Adzhars, the Udmurt, Chuvash and other peoples? In fact every one of them became a romantic name to me because I felt like a man looking at the moon and knowing what it looked like, but aware that I would never walk on it. I knew that I would never see all the different republics of the USSR, and would never know anything about the culture of even a fraction of them. It was not for want of trying. It was simply humanly impossible to be able to understand all of them.

So how did socialism cope with the enormous variety and difference? I used to puzzle about this a great deal until it dawned on me one day that in fact it is inherent in socialism that different people will emerge differently in their own way.

I have always been interested in hunting people like the Nenets. I think the Nenets were down to 2000 people in 1913, and it is quite clear that the socialist revolution saved them from utter extinction. But what happened when these people, who were starving and dying out as nomads, became fish canners and collective fish farmers? Or what happened to their society when their hunters were organized into socialist collectives, and their reindeer herds became part of a collective farm system?

In some societies a written language itself was an innovation, the Kazakhs, for example. In others, electricity. In others regular communication was a miracle. Most people in the Soviet Union are taught that it is the duty of the advanced societies to give everything possible to the less advanced.

In Australia today there is still a remnant of the aboriginal people left, but even as I write they are about to have some of their last hunting grounds taken away from them and handed over to American mineral interests. That example is typical of hundreds of others in our world. Look at West Africa, for instance. Or the rich farmlands of Rhodesia. The tragedy of impoverishment and exploitation is being written every day in these countries, which is why the success achieved in the multinational republics of the USSR is so important. The old aboriginal woman in my Australian country

town had never heard of the USSR, but today the young Africa has heard of it as well as millions of suppressed people the world over. That is the kind of life they aim at and which some day they will achieve.

KURBANYCHBEK MALIKOV

Invitation to Kirghizstan

*The time has come to tell people in many countries
Where we're being maligned and defamed:
Come to Kirghizstan—
Have a look at us with your own eyes!*

*Walk through this land of valleys and mountains,
Listen to what the streams are singing,
Listen to the gardens and the cornfields
Communicating with the blue-eyed and boundless sky.*

*Gladly, we'll show you how we live, in true colors,
Be bold, start on your journey, cast aside your doubts!
In any Kirghiz mountain village you will be welcomed,
As our land has welcomed guests from time immemorial,
With heartfelt hospitality, we will spread the tablecloth,
Pour koumiss and cold sour milk into your bowls,
Cook Kirghiz lamb and noodle stew for your dinner . . .
Drop into the home of a miner, a shepherd,
A construction worker, poet or sugar-beet grower . . .
Why, the whole world knows that
Without getting to know a people,
You're not going to know their country.*

*Look into everything . . .
We have no secrets.
We carry no hidden motive in our hearts.
If you like—we'll go to a Kirghiz summer pasture;
If you like—we'll go to the ballet.*

*Look all around.
Really you can't escape the truth:*

KURBANYCHBEK MALIKOV is People's Poet of Kirghizia.

*Here is our Academy of Sciences . . .
Here the clinic where an expert surgeon
Reanimates a lifeless heart.*

*The world has heard much about us,
They know of us in near and far-off lands,
In England and in India.
The words of Shakespeare
Have often sounded from our Kirghiz stage.*

*Small wonder that everything you saw today
Is mixed up with what they've drummed into you.
They said my people were in chains,
Languishing in hopeless darkness.
While here they are on top of a sunny summit.*

*From one end of our land to the other,
No matter where you cast your eye,
Everywhere there is an unheard-of sweep of work . . .
Free labor,
A joyous life,
The sun of our just rule,
The happiness won after struggles,
And the radiant road to Communism.*

*No matter how you may curb the racing wind,
We will not be destroyed by lies or guns,
We are forever united in our Union,
In our tried and tested Leninist friendship.*

*So, look,
Look all around!
We do not need to borrow the wealth of others,
Our wealth is the sacred work of our hands,
The fruit of equality and fraternity.*

*Look at a people who recognize no limits
To their labor, their daring deeds, their discoveries—
Everything of which we, the Kirghiz people, are proud
Is in full view . . .
Look, do!
Look!*

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN,
with the editorial assistance of NAN BRAYMER.
Slightly abridged for reasons of space.

AUGUSTA STRONG

Angela Davis In the Soviet Union

“THERE IS a saying in the Orient . . . what is more powerful than fire . . . what is stronger than stone? And the answer is the friendship of peoples. . . .”

These were among the words of greeting extended by Mikhail Georgadze, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to the heroic young Black Communist Angela Davis, as she began a spectacular journey through the Soviet Union to thank the millions of Soviet citizens who had supported the worldwide movement for her freedom. While he spoke of the fraternal ties that bind the many nationalities which comprise the Soviet Union, he referred as well to the proletarian internationalism which has aided so many victims of imperialism.

This friendship poured forth in a joyous flood of welcome to Angela from men, women and children in the streets, from officials, from youth and students, from industrial and rural workers the length and breadth of the Soviet Union, wherever she went, from the “Hero City” Leningrad to the ancient, legendary Samarkand.

The Soviet people had followed the course of her ordeal with warm admiration and love, seeing in her an example of the fight of oppressed people of all races for complete economic and political freedom. They expressed their feelings in many gifts and honors. She was awarded the Lenin Jubilee Medal by the USSR Supreme Soviet; the Medal of Honor of the Lenin Komsomol (the first time the Communist Youth organization had so honored a foreigner). While Komsomol leaders saluted her as “the best representative of the young generation,” Angela spoke feelingly of “the tremendous organization of young people in my defense” as “the highest example of proletarian internationalism.” She was awarded an honorary pro-

AUGUSTA STRONG has long been active in the Black liberation movement. A writer and former teacher, she is a contributing editor of *Freedomways* magazine. She is preparing for her doctorate in linguistics. She is at present in Moscow, where her husband, Joseph North, is correspondent of the *Daily World*, and she will be sending further articles to NWR.

fessorship at Moscow University, and an honorary doctorate at Tashkent University in the Uzbek Republic. The City of Samarkand made her an honorary citizen. The 80,000 workers of the vast Kirov machine-building and metallurgical plant in Leningrad elected her an honorary worker. Amid hundreds of children at the Moscow Young Pioneer Palace, she was made an honorary member of their organization—telling them in response that in her days of solitary confinement in prison, “I never felt alone because of all the thousands and thousands of letters with messages of sympathy and love which came from the children of the Soviet Union.”

Invited as the guest of the Central Committee of the CPSU (she is a member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA) and by the Soviet Women’s Committee, Angela’s visit from August 27 to September 10, was the first stage of a trip that included the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Cuba and Chile, all of which had launched national movements on her behalf. Accompanying her were Franklin Alexander, National Coordinator, Angela Davis Defense Committee, and Kendra Alexander, an active organizer of the defense movement. Again and again in Moscow, in Ulyanovsk (the city of Lenin’s birth), in Leningrad, and in the Uzbek Republic, Angela returned to the central theme of her visit:

“The Soviet Union is the first stop in our journey to socialist countries, not only because the first socialist revolution was waged here, but in the sense that it is the bastion of socialism throughout the world. Not only did the Soviet Union play a central role in organizing support for my freedom . . . but it gives material and moral support to the freedom of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are fighting the aggression of US imperialism. . . . It is the defender of all victims of capitalist greed and injustice. . . .

“During the long months of my imprisonment and during my trial, your many thousands of messages were a constant source of strength and courage. Your countless protest actions—from the statements by distinguished Soviet scientists to the cards sent by the youngest children—had a profound impact on the government of my country. Together with other peoples of the world socialist community, you decisively influenced the outcome of my trial. If not for your practice of proletarian internationalism, I might still be behind prison walls today.”

The year was a particularly timely one for such a visit, for throughout the Soviet Union the people are celebrating a grand national fete in observance of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, joining in a single union—

where all are equal—European with Asian and Middle Eastern peoples, who had known only exploitation and degradation under the Tsarist regimes.

The full significance of that day, some fifty years ago, came vividly to life many times during the visit of the Americans, beginning with the moment when Mme. Yadgar Nasriddinova, Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, welcomed Angela at the reception in which she received the Lenin Jubilee Medal. Mme. Nasriddinova, exemplifying in her own person the stirring truths of the equality of women and of national minorities, told how before the Revolution women were sequestered from the world, symbolically and actually, by the veils which concealed their faces, but are today engaged in all aspects of the economic, political, social and cultural life of their communities.

She described how friendship, equality and common interest among its more than 100 nationalities made possible social, economic, and cultural advances for each of the components of the Soviet Union. Since the Revolution, the national income of the Russian Federation, a region once favored above the other, has increased 92 times; but it has multiplied a miraculous 2000 times in many of the national areas. More than 40 nationalities, she said, whose speech and traditions had been handed down for centuries by word of mouth, now have developed their own alphabets and a written language; and their poems and their sagas have become part of the cultural life of the world, as well as of the Soviet Union which publishes books in 89 of the national languages of its peoples.

Only a few days later, visiting Uzbekistan, Angela saw with her own eyes the mammoth changes which had taken place since the Revolution. One of the most impressive sights was the beautiful new city of Tashkent, reconstructed by manpower and materials liberally and spontaneously contributed by sister republics of the Soviet Union, the national government, and the Communist Party, after an earthquake in April 1966 destroyed almost half the city. Workers from each of the 14 other national republics streamed in, working shoulder to shoulder as they had in repelling the fascists in World War II—in affirmation of life, in the socialist spirit of "all for one—one for all."

There in Uzbekistan, Angela visited a vast textile mill, probably one of the largest in the world, staffed primarily by women, from its directors down to the newest young trainee. She met women trade union, party, and government leaders, whose mothers a generation ago gathered in a public ceremony to burn the veils that had hidden

them from the world and been the badge of their inferior rank. She met with leading scientists and educators who are continuing the scholarly tradition of the renowned 15th century humanist, mathematician, and astronomer, Ulug-bek, when Samarkand was once the capital of a vast empire and a center of learning and culture. She spoke before hundreds of cheering students at the University of Tashkent, whose student body of 15,000 includes many young Black men and women from African nations, with which the Uzbek Republic maintains cordial relations. The same enthusiasm greeted Angela and her friends in Samarkand, where the Uzbek socialist regime has restored the storied beauty of its ancient monuments and built, as well, a gleaming modern city for today's inhabitants, with every requisite for work, health, and leisure.

Accepting the honorary degree of doctor, she told the teachers and students of the University of Tashkent:

"I stand with you forever for a science, an education, for life and not for death.

"I stand with you in this great 50th year of the formation of the USSR for the full liberation and equality of all states and peoples.

"I accept this award with the pledge that I shall do all in my power to help create a world of peaceful coexistence so that our two people can live together without wars or threats of wars. And with the further pledge that I shall do all in my power to end the racism in my country, as I have seen it ended in yours, so that our children, like yours, of all colors and nationalities, can sit and study together, equals in any schools they attend, friends and comrades."

She saw socialism in action, transforming a half million acres of once unproductive desert land into a great man-made oasis, covered with vast fields of bursting cotton bolls, being harvested and piled into snowy mountains by mechanized cotton pickers, driven by the skilled hands of young Uzbek men and women. In the area known as the "Hungry Steppe," Uzbekistan plans to reclaim even more of the two million acres of wasteland, creating more and more the material means for the care and comfort of its people.

"The slogan, 'national in form and socialist in content,' has acquired a new meaning for me," Angela told her audiences many times. "We were deeply concerned to see the answer to the national question in action. . . . We saw that it is wholly possible to maintain national identity, and at the same time build a supreme unity, and to move toward a Communist society."

Wherever she traveled, Angela sought information on how women were faring under socialism. Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, the

only woman astronaut who has explored outer space, as Chairman of the Women's Committee of the Soviet Union, was her frequent companion. Angela had met leading women in government, trade unions and mass organizations, in the Communist Party, in universities and schools. She learned that in addition to the 463 women deputies to the Supreme Soviet, hundreds of thousands of women filled lesser positions in local government throughout the Soviet Union.

She also heard that one of the major concerns of the Communist Party at its 24th Congress last year had been the creation of the optimum conditions for the full freedom of women, and that further advances were part of the recently adopted Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975) which would make it possible for housewives as well as working women to combine their responsibilities as citizens, mothers, and public figures.

Among the goals set was a tremendous expansion of personal services such as public catering, laundry, cleaning, and other house-keeping aids as a major branch of Soviet industry; provision for another two million preschool children in nurseries and kindergartens, in addition to the 9.5 million who now attend; the building of new apartments for 11 million people annually for the next five years; the building of additional Pioneer camps and other facilities for school-age children, as well as new rest homes for mothers with children.

The children, Angela was told, "are the only privileged class in our society." She found the children beautiful and unforgettable. Speaking of the children of the poor and from the ghettos in her native land, Angela noted that "the real significance of your achievements can be read on the faces of your children . . . children of all colors, of all nationalities and facial features. This is really symbolic of what Jose Marti said, that children are the hope of humanity."

She met Soviet children by the hundreds at their Pioneer palaces, vast, well-equipped community centers provided for children in their neighborhoods. Angela saw them engaged in dozens of leisure-time activities, from simple play for the very youngest to the serious pursuit of such hobbies as music, ballet and dance, model ship and airplane building, botany and physics, and an introduction to space travel training among the teenagers. Thousands upon thousands of letters had been written by the Soviet children in behalf of Angela's freedom; and each child knew her name, her face, and her heroism. "I never felt alone," Angela told the children, ". . . in my small, bare cell, I was never alone because of all the messages of sympathy and love I received from children, especially the many thousands of letters from the Soviet Union."

Everywhere crowds of working men and women came to meet her, bearing armfuls of flowers in token of the welcome that beamed in their smiles and flashed on the colorful banners they carried with welcoming slogans. In Moscow she spoke before the workers of the Likhachev Auto Plant, where 70,000 of them had participated in the campaign for her freedom, and in Leningrad at the century-old Kirov machine-building and metallurgical plant, another giant enterprise, where some 80,000 workers, proud of their great revolutionary tradition, had joined the "Free Angela" defense movement.

Crowds sprang up whenever she appeared in the streets, with parents holding little children above their heads so they could see Angela and wave to her. She was told that many women were naming their newborn daughters after her. Poems about her by leading poets were read at some of the meetings she attended. Her reception was especially memorable among the Komsomol youth, who in Moscow alone had held meetings attended by half a million youths during her incarceration, and at Moscow University, where students jammed the corridors and stairs, the lobbies and the auditorium to applaud her in the name of proletarian internationalism.

Perhaps the most personally moving climax of her days in Moscow for Angela and her companions was the afternoon spent at Lumumba University, the remarkable Soviet institution named for the African martyr assassinated in the Congo by colonialist reactionaries. Its student body is composed primarily of young men and women from 87 countries of Africa, Asia, the Arabic nations of the Middle East, and Latin America.

At their assembly, in an atmosphere of emotional silence, students sat totally absorbed, their faces at times expressing wonder, sorrow, or joy, as they listened to their own spokesmen—and later Angela herself—talk about her experiences. They rose as one to second the words of a young African woman, a student of history and philosophy: "We welcome you on behalf of African women and all African students. We are grateful for your visit. You have become an example of the fight of all oppressed people for complete economic and political freedom. In the world, reactionaries persecute revolutionaries—but there is unity of revolutionaries. We are with you in your fight against reactionary imperialism and racism." This theme was repeated by a medical student from Bangladesh, a mathematics and physics student from Chile, a Lebanese student in agriculture, and a woman philology major, representing Soviet students at the University, who concluded: "Your fight was not only a fight for your own liberation. It gave impetus to the fight for the freedom of all political prisoners and

impetus to the struggle for socialism and peace in the United States."

In her final appearance before the Soviet public, on a national television program, heard, it is estimated, by some 100 million viewers, Angela told how deeply she had been moved by the overwhelmingly warm reception she and her colleagues had met everywhere, and expressed gratitude both on her own behalf and that of the Communist Party of the United States, and on behalf of the many Americans who had worked for her release. She pledged to bring back to the United States the story of Soviet achievement and the meaning socialism holds for the youth, the poor, the oppressed minorities, and the working men and women of America.

Earlier, in a personal reference to some of the influences that had shaped her life, she had told her listeners: "Once one experiences life in the United States, especially the racism and exploitation which is so blatant, especially in Southern states—particularly if four of one's young friends, four young girls are slaughtered by racists. . . ." If against this background you are learning something about Marxism-Leninism, it is impossible not to understand that socialism is the only answer to all this madness."

In an exclusive interview with the US National Black News Service, following her tour of Tashkent, Angela said: "Brown-skinned Asians were all around and white Europeans were by their side and nobody shunned one another.

"It never occurred to them to speak about the color of the skin. Only the merits and personal qualities make the value of a person. All this arouses a feeling of profound satisfaction with us Black US citizens, since the problem of the relations of whites and Blacks is the most acute and vital of all the present-day problems of our state."

* Angela's reference here was to the tragic circumstance when four children, attending the First Baptist Church in Birmingham, were victims of a bomb planted by white racists. Angela, a child herself at the time, had been a playmate of the murdered little girls.

ROCKWELL KENT

*Famous American artist; former Chairman (1957-71),
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship*

WE AMERICANS should be grateful to the Soviet people for giving an example of how a great and strong nation can live and prosper, peacefully coexisting with the rest of humanity and fighting for the preservation and strengthening of world peace. The Soviet people have already contributed very much, and will contribute much, to . . . bringing happiness to the whole of mankind.

E. H. S. BURHOP

The Soviet Peace Policy: For Detente and Disarmament

EVER SINCE the earliest days after the October Revolution, the Soviet Government has put the struggle for peace in the forefront of its policy. Practically the first act of the young revolutionary government was the proclamation of the decree on peace, and consistently throughout the years a policy of peace coupled with disarmament has been followed by the USSR.

After 40 years I can still recall the sensation aroused when the Soviet delegation outlined its policy at the World Conference on Disarmament in 1932. They proposed a complete abolition of armaments. The shock that reverberated around the chancelleries of the world could not have been greater if their representatives had uttered a string of four-letter words. If they could not achieve total and complete disarmament, then they proposed partial methods such as the abolition of the bombing airplane, a proposal which was also haughtily rejected. Speaking in parliament a little later, the United Kingdom Minister for Air, Lord Londonderry, preened himself on his sagacity in resisting this outrageous proposal which would, he said, have deprived the Royal Air Force of its most prized weapon which was absolutely essential to keep the peace by bombing the villages of the tribesmen on the Northwest frontier of India. Forty years later the people of Guernica, Rotterdam, Coventry, London, Dresden, Hamburg, Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Vietnam, must have a different estimate of his morality, if not his sagacity.

But already the Weimar Republic was tottering, Hitler and his storm troopers were on the move. A new danger threatened the Western democracies and the Soviet Union alike. The Soviet Gov-

PROF. ERIC HENRY STONELEY BURHOP, leading British atomic and nuclear physicist, has held the Chair of Physics in University College, London, for many years. He is chairman of the World Federation of Scientific Workers. An outstanding fighter for peace, and especially nuclear disarmament, he is a member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council. He was awarded the Frederic Joliot-Curie Peace Medal of the World Peace Council in 1966, and the International Lenin Peace Prize "For the Promotion of Peace among Nations" for 1970-71.

ernment responded by joining the League of Nations and its talented and inspiring foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov, led the campaign for collective security. "Peace is Indivisible" was the slogan that swept round the world.

But the response of the West was prevarication and appeasement. One by one the bastions of Central Europe that could have been defended were surrendered without a fight. The rape of Czechoslovakia was followed by the Munich pact. Even after Hitler had torn it to shreds the Western attitude toward the call for collective security was irresolute and equivocal. Finally at the last possible moment, when it was clear that the Western powers had no serious intention of reaching an agreement for joint action with the Soviet Union, the latter decided that every country had to look after its own defense. To gain time they concluded the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement. It was a time of deepest gloom and despair for anti-Fascist fighters but in retrospect it is difficult to see any alternative which would not have ended in a Nazi attack on the Soviet Union with at least the support and most probably the actual participation in some form of the Western powers.

The inevitable Nazi attack on the Soviet Union cost her over 20 million lives, including some of her most talented and devoted young people. Even with Britain and America as allies it was one of the hardest and bitterest struggles in history.

One could have hoped that when victory came it would have been possible for the Soviet state to relax its preoccupation with defense and turn to the almost superhuman task of rebuilding its shattered economy. But there was no respite. During the war its Western allies had been developing, under conditions of the greatest secrecy, in the US and Canada, a tremendously destructive new weapon, the atomic bomb, many thousands of times as explosive weight for weight as any previous weapon. It made use of the discovery of the process of nuclear fission by two German scientists in 1938 which enabled nuclear energy, the source from which the sun draws its heat, to be harnessed on earth and used in a bomb.

The development of the atomic bomb and its repercussions have prevented until this day the establishment of real peace. Agreements were made between the Allies which were to be the blueprints for the postwar world and which formed the background to the meetings in San Francisco in 1945 where the United Nations came into existence. These agreements envisaged continued cooperation between the wartime allies, but they had been worked out before the first successful test of an atomic bomb. The successful demonstration

of the test explosion at Alamogordo, N.M. in July 1945, quickly followed by the nuclear holocausts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, made the US and British military leaders and their less scrupulous and farsighted politicians feel dizzy with success.

The British however were soon pushed aside. This was to be the American century. There was no need to guide the postwar world in a way that respected the views and vital interests of allies. The British and some others would sometimes be tolerated so long as they knew their place and did not stand in the way of US aims. But the great new power of nuclear energy would enable the US to maintain the system of imperialism over most of the world, would prevent the spread of socialist ideas and the emergence of genuine nationalist movements in the colonial world. The US would be in a position to strike a mortal pre-emptive blow with the new weapons against the Soviet Union if she should interfere. In fact there was a strong body of US opinion which advocated doing this anyhow, just in case. The cold war against the Soviet Union and the new popular democracies on its borders had begun and threatened to erupt at any time into a new nuclear war.

This was the situation faced by the Soviet Union when it emerged from its victorious but crippling struggle against Nazi Germany. The wave of horror that went round the world at news of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki led to a demand from many sides for the banning of these new weapons. In this situation, in 1946, the US came forward with proposals, not for banning but for international control of nuclear weapons, the so-called Baruch plan. At the same time plans for producing fissile material would be distributed throughout the world and managed by an international consortium. On the face of it the US Government seemed to be offering to share its own nuclear capacity with the rest of the world on condition no other nation should independently try to develop such a capacity. The Soviet Government saw it differently however. To them it seemed clear that the Baruch plan would only serve to maintain the US monopoly because the US and its friends would have a permanent majority on any control or management authority. When to this was added the demand for almost unlimited inspection powers and the abrogation of the unanimity rule of the five major powers, which was the unalterable basis on which the Soviet Union had agreed to join in establishing the United Nations, the Baruch plan appeared to the Soviet Government as a blueprint not only for the American century but for the American millenium.

Soviet foreign policy had to face its most severe test. Undoubtedly

the world could not be secure until nuclear weapons were brought under control and outlawed. The Baruch plan was ostensibly directed towards controlling them and so had a specious appeal to many liberals.

The Soviet Union responded by demanding that all nuclear weapons must be destroyed, their use outlawed. No more must be built. Nuclear energy must be developed exclusively for peaceful purposes. At the same time, realizing that their own weak position vis-a-vis the bomb made it unlikely that their call for the destruction of existing stockpiles and the cessation of the production of further bombs would be accepted, they decided immediately to proceed with great speed to develop their own nuclear weapons.

This decision was a sad one for the Soviet Government to have to make. Tremendous tasks of reconstruction faced them. Yet they had to divert very large technical resources of material and manpower to the unpalatable task of nuclear weapon development. It was also a decision involving great danger. In the US and even in Britain, some people, bemused by the apparently absolute power conferred by the bomb, were calling for a pre-emptive strike to destroy Soviet power before it could develop the bomb. It was a criminally mad program, unrealistic and based on a gross overestimation of US power even at that time. Nevertheless not a few intellectuals who should have known better went along with this demand. Even Bertrand Russell lent the weight of his great prestige to this campaign at that time although later he came to understand the wickedness and folly of it and played a most important role in the campaign for nuclear disarmament.

Fortunately there was wide popular opposition to any such policy. Perhaps the most critical time was in the early part of the Korean war in 1950 after the Korean people, assisted by the Chinese volunteers, had driven the US forces almost out of Korea and it appeared that President Truman was contemplating unleashing the bomb. The pressure in Britain against this policy was now so great that Premier Attlee flew to Washington to try to dissuade him from such a disastrous course. The crisis passed without use of the bomb.

With the development of the Soviet bomb, and in 1954 with the almost simultaneous development of the US and Soviet hydrogen bombs, the possibility of a US pre-emptive strike without fear of retaliation in kind had passed. The danger from nuclear war, if it should break out, however, was greatly increased. The development of the hydrogen bomb represented another thousand-fold increase in the destructiveness of the weapon.

Following the submission of the Baruch proposals and counter proposals submitted by Mr. Gromyko for the Soviet Government, negotiations were continued in the Atomic Energy Commission and various other committees set up by the UN Security Council. Progress was very slow on the problem of the elimination of nuclear weapons. Roughly the positions of the two sides could be summarized by saying the US wanted much inspection and little nuclear disarmament, while the USSR wanted minimum inspection and maximum nuclear disarmament. By 1955, however, when questions of nuclear disarmament were linked with disarmament in conventional weapons, agreement seemed close. Both the US and UK delegates confirmed that the policy of their governments was for "the total prohibition of manufacture, possession and use of nuclear weapons." The Western delegates put forward proposals for reduction of conventional weapons and military forces to specific levels, the proportionate reduction of nuclear stockpiles as a step toward their total abolition, and the setting up of an international organ for inspection and control. In an historic paper of May 10, 1955, the Soviet delegate, Mr. Yakov Malik, put forward a Draft Resolution on Disarmament and International Control which, in the words of Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, "were a far-reaching acceptance of the major policies which the Western delegate had urged."*

The Western delegates gave a favorable reception to the Soviet draft and interpreted it as accepting the Western proposals. Against the Soviet wishes, however, the meeting of the sub-committee discussing these problems adjourned for 3½ months. When it reassembled the US delegate stated "... the United States does now place a reservation upon all of its pre-Geneva substantive positions taken in this Sub-Committee or in the Disarmament Commission, or in the United Nations on these questions in relationship to levels of armaments, pending the outcome of our study, jointly or separately, of inspection methods and control arrangements." In other words, when, after years of discussion the Soviet Union had come round to accepting the Western proposals, including inspection and control, and agreement seemed within grasp, the Western powers reneged on their own proposals. No wonder many people, and not only in the Soviet Union, concluded that the Western proposals had been a great hoax, put forward to deceive public opinion, never expecting the Soviet Union to accept them. When the Soviet Union did accept them, the bluff was called and the proposals withdrawn. Memories

* *The Arms Race*, by Philip Noel-Baker. Alexander Books, London, 1958, p. 213.

of people are all too short. Otherwise they would have not so quickly forgotten this cynical trifling with one of the most serious problems that has ever faced mankind. Never since that time have we been so close to apparent agreement on real measures of disarmament. Never since have the Western delegates rendered even lip service to the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, "strategic" nuclear weapons are considered the keystone of their policy of deterrence to keep the peace generally, "tactical" nuclear weapons the keystone of their policy of graduated response to keep the peace in Europe. The Soviet Government has never ceased to struggle for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons, and all possible steps in this direction.

Negotiations have been continued and some progress has been made. The Limited Test Ban Treaty, concluded in 1963, prohibits nuclear explosives in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, but still permits an unlimited number of underground test explosions. Unfortunately two of the nuclear powers, France and China, have not signed this treaty.

The Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, signed in 1968, prevents the transfer of nuclear weapon production capacity from nuclear to non-nuclear powers and provides safeguards to prevent diversion of fissile materials from peacetime to weapons use.

Other agreements prohibit nuclear weapons being put on the moon or other celestial bodies, in orbit round the earth, in Antarctica, in Latin America, or on the sea-bed.

None of these agreements calls for any reduction of armaments. They may serve to reduce the rate of expansion of nuclear armaments and so prevent a bad situation becoming worse.

The one field in which actual agreement on disarmament has been reached and is being implemented is that of biological weapons. The "Convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and on their destruction," represents a total ban on biological weapons under all conditions. (The Soviet Union has long pressed for a ban on the use of chemical weapons of war, such as those used to kill and poison in Vietnam, but the US has thus far refused.)

It would be wrong to underestimate the value of these limited agreements. They have helped to create an atmosphere of greater confidence in which progress toward real steps of nuclear disarmament is possible. President Kennedy, in announcing the conclusion of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, quoted the Chinese proverb "A journey of one thousand miles starts with a single step."

Nevertheless it would be wrong to overestimate their importance. All the time these discussions have been taking place the arms race has continued. At a time when many more resources are needed to deal with the problems of poverty at home and under-development abroad, astronomical sums are being devoted to sustaining the arms race. Nevertheless in the 1960's, particularly after the Cuba crisis in 1962, a certain stability in the arms race was reached. This was based on the development by both the USSR and the US of the so-called "second-strike capacity." This means that either side could absorb a pre-emptive first strike attack from the other side and still maintain sufficient retaliatory power in the form of hard underground-based missiles or submarine-based missiles, to mount a retaliatory strike of crippling and unacceptable capacity on its antagonist. This is the doctrine of the maintenance of peace through mutual terror. If either side should miscalculate, the results of their folly would appear in the form of hundreds of millions of dead in the countries directly concerned and probably many more millions of casualties among nations not directly involved, as a result of secondary effects from radioactive fallout. To maintain this quasi-stability based on the second strike capacity, neither side must develop so-called "first strike" capacity. This means that neither side should develop such offensive power that it could destroy the "hardened" land-based missile sites or the missile-carrying submarines of the other. At the same time the defenses of the cities and industrial areas should not be made so impregnable that they could withstand the weight of the retaliatory attack of the victim of a first strike. In the crazy logic of the balance of terror any system that increases the defensive capacity of the populated or industrial centers is bad, while a system that increases the defensive capacities of the missile launchers is good and stabilizing.

In recent years technical developments appear capable of destroying this quasi-stability. On the one hand these include the development of so-called MIRV (multiple, independently-targeted re-entry vehicle) systems. In these, at a certain stage the missile breaks up into a number of independent (some say up to 10) smaller missiles, each carrying a nuclear warhead and each independently and accurately guided on to a different target. Thus a single missile could pick out accurately ten missile sites and destroy them. The capacity of the side first developing MIRV could then be so augmented that it would not only be able to wipe out all the retaliatory capacity of the other side, but would have sufficient warheads left over to threaten the complete destruction of the cities and the industrial

areas of the other. The possibility of a pre-emptive first strike would again become credible.

On the other hand recent years have seen the possibility of the development of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems. These involve sophisticated developments in radar, rocketry and nuclear weapon technology. Large and very sensitive radar arrays detect on-coming missiles when they are still many thousands of miles away from their target and plot their course. The information is fed to launchers of large missiles armed with powerful nuclear warheads. These interceptor missiles are fired so that they will pass within less than about one mile of the on-coming offensive missile. At the point of closest approach this nuclear warhead is detonated and the intense radiations generated destroy the sensitive detonation mechanism of the on-coming missile, effectually defusing its nuclear warhead. This long-range interception will occur many hundreds of miles above the earth and generally over the territory of some other country. The very fine radioactive particles from the nuclear explosion will contaminate the high atmosphere and gradually fall out over a number of years and on countries all around the world.

If the long-range interception fails there still remain a number of local interception systems to fall back on. These consist of a large number of much less powerful local radars linked with missiles armed with smaller nuclear warheads which can intercept and destroy the oncoming nuclear weapon much closer to its target. These will intercept at a much lower altitude and will produce local radioactive fallout.

Estimates of the likely effectiveness of ABM systems vary from a few per cent success to about ninety per cent success. None can guarantee complete security so that the reaction to the development of an ABM system by one side would certainly be the development of more numerous, more powerful and more sophisticated offensive missiles by the other side, in order to penetrate it. The rising spiral of the arms race would take another upward turn. Mr. Robert McNamara, the former US Defense Secretary, who was certainly no dove, once commented that by going ahead with the deployment of ABM and associated MIRV systems they were likely to increase the arms bill by a factor of about ten and at the end would have bought less security.

It was against this background of the crazy escalation of the nuclear arms race that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) have been taking place between US and Soviet representatives over the past several years. The first fruits of these talks was the agree-

ment concluded between the two governments on the occasion of President Nixon's visit to Moscow in May of this year. According to this agreement each side agrees to limit their ABM deployment to the protection of two areas each of approximately 100 miles radius. One of these areas on each side will include Washington and Moscow respectively. The other will include an assemblage of land-based launchers for inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBM).

This treaty limits defensive systems against nuclear attack. It has been found much more difficult to agree on limiting development of offensive nuclear weapons. The two sides however concluded an interim agreement not to start building new fixed land-based ICBM launchers after July 1, 1972, and not to convert existing ICBM's into launchers capable of putting up heavier (presumably MIRV) missiles. Nothing was said about land-based MIRVs, either existing or under construction. With regard to submarine-launchers the total number is to be limited to the number at present operational or under construction but no agreement was reached prohibiting the conversion of existing types to make them capable of launching MIRVs. However the two countries agreed to continue negotiations aimed at limiting strategic offensive arms.

Previous attempts, even at more limited agreements than the present, have foundered on the rock of inspection. Only "national technical means of verification" are called for in the treaty. Such means no doubt include the use of so-called "spy satellites" and it is remarkable how far this kind of technology has advanced to make the familiar argument of yesteryear so out of date.

One has only to spell out the provisions of the new treaty to realize its limitations. Mankind desperately needs a decisive turn toward disarmament so that the tremendous amount of natural resources wasted in the arms race can be devoted to the abolition of poverty and the increase of human wealth and well-being; so that the knowledge and ingenuity of scientists and technologists can be turned toward the solution of all the pressing problems of modern life: the environment, the population explosion, the development of new substitute materials. The present treaty is not a disarmament treaty. Its aim is to make the "deterrent" method of preventing nuclear war more likely to succeed in the period immediately ahead and to prevent a catastrophic increase in the arms bill.

Nevertheless it is quite wrong to write this treaty off, as some commentators try, as valueless and of no significance. It is surely a matter of some importance that the two most powerful nations have jointly affirmed their intention not only to avoid situations

likely to carry the risk of nuclear confrontation, but also to work for general and complete disarmament.

The true magnitude of the advance will only be assessed after the next stage of talks when it is seen whether agreement is possible also on offensive weapons. The present interim agreement on such weapons leaves some alarming loopholes. There is no limitation on qualitative improvement of the weapons that will be deployed from existing launchers. During recent years there has been a great improvement in the accuracy with which missiles can be guided on to their target. This increased accuracy together with the development of MIRV leaves open the possibility that even within the framework of the interim agreement on offensive weapons concluded in Moscow, it may be possible for one or the other side to develop pre-emptive first-strike capacity. The implications of this can be judged by the fact that military strategists in the US are already discussing the idea of "launch on warning." This idea discounts the possibility of defending missile sites by ABM and proposes that the only sure way of surviving a pre-emptive attack is by launching some of the ICBM's before all of them are destroyed on the ground.

The meaning of this kind of thinking is frightening. We are back to the days of the campaign for pre-emptive first strike, of accidental war through misinterpretation of indications on a radar screen. But it is a situation where the consequences of mistake are far greater and more threatening than ten years ago. There is clearly urgent need for the major nuclear powers to hasten their discussion so that the second stage of the SALT discussions may soon be concluded and the loopholes left after the Nixon-Brezhnev agreements of May 1972 plugged, so that the further qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons which might again make pre-emptive attack credible, is prevented.

However, although agreement between the major nuclear powers is very important it is not sufficient. Disarmament is not a problem of the USA and USSR alone. Nuclear weapons are not only to be evaluated in terms of their role as a deterrent. Nuclear weapons have also been developed by less powerful nations—United Kingdom, France, China—presumably for political reasons and to support their foreign policy, which is certainly of concern to many non-nuclear nations. We have seen in Vietnam how non-nuclear weapons of a most sophisticated and terrible character such as defoliants, napalm, anti-personnel weapons, cratering explosives, electronic battlefield, can be used. Wars of a "conventional" type can continue even under a nuclear interdiction.

The philosophy of the SALT talks is the balance of terror. From the point of view of the USA and the USSR this is a realistic approach at the present time and the talks serve a very important and essential aim. However even when the second stage of SALT talks has been successfully concluded, no nuclear disarmament will have occurred, only a stabilization of arms at the present frightening level. This cannot be the basis of a lasting peace. We must turn from the stabilized deterrent to real nuclear disarmament. The aim must be general and complete disarmament at the earliest possible moment. This cannot be achieved through discussions of the two strongest nuclear powers, nor of the five nuclear powers alone. All countries, small or large, must participate. It is entirely in line with the consistent policy of the Soviet Union for peace and disarmament that the proposal for a World Disarmament Conference before the United Nations Assembly should have come from the Soviet Union. While a resolution supporting the Soviet call for a World Disarmament Conference was passed by the 1971 General Assembly, the opposition, especially by the United States and the Chinese People's Republic, blocked Soviet proposals for concrete steps for its implementation. The resolution did, however, provide that the agenda, date and other details of the conference should be discussed at the Fall, 1972 General Assembly.*

Mankind cries out for such a conference, and it must be a successful conference leading to a breakthrough toward actual disarmament. The preparation of a World Disarmament Conference must be considered the most important task of all those working for peace in all countries.

The signing of the agreement on the first stage of the SALT negotiations was accompanied by a number of other agreements between the USA and the USSR on cooperation in various fields. Of great interest to us in Europe is the statement which pledges the two governments to contribute toward "a genuine detente and the development of relations of peaceful cooperation among states in Europe on the basis of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, independence and renunciation of the use or threat of force."

These are unfamiliar words for an American President, but should be welcomed by all the peoples of Europe, especially as the state-

* Since the above was written, the Soviet Government, through Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, has submitted to the 27th session of the UN (Fall, 1972) a proposed UN resolution for the renunciation of force or threat of force in international relations and prohibition for all time of use of nuclear weapons.

ment goes on to support the summoning of a well-prepared Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Such a conference is overdue. The situation in Europe where the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries confront each other has been potentially one of great danger for many years. The defense strategy of the Western powers is based on the theory of the so-called "tactical" nuclear weapons in response to any attack using conventional weapons by the Warsaw Pact countries lasting more than a few days. The situation is less alarming than it was until a few years ago when the so-called "trip wire" strategy was being used, which would have involved almost immediately nuclear response to a conventional attack.

The strategy is not credible. Nobody is agreed on what distinguishes "tactical" from other nuclear weapons. Certainly there is no agreement with the Warsaw Pact countries on any such distinction. The use of nuclear weapons in Germany would convert the greater part of the country into radioactive ruin. The other European NATO countries would risk the destruction of their main cities and industries.

European security cannot be based on such a strategy. What is needed is a pact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, mutual withdrawal of troops many hundreds of miles back from the frontier; removal of nuclear weapons from this area and of all except light defensive armaments; the working out of agreements on scientific, technical, cultural and trade relations; the support of every method that can contribute to detente between the countries of the socialist and non-socialist world. With such items on its agenda, a Conference on European Security could remove one of the most dangerous potential areas of conflict and help prepare the way for success in the World Disarmament Conference.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that also for the Conference on European Security and Cooperation it is the Soviet Government that has carried the ball. It was their proposal which they have supported diplomatically and politically with great determination. One can surely say, after fifty years of the existence of the USSR, that its basic line in foreign policy remains the consolidation of peace.

USSR FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO said at the 1972 General Assembly: "Preparations for an all-European Security Conference are soon to pass to the practical phase. The importance of this meeting is in making Europe truly peaceful and transforming the relations among European states on the basis of mutual understanding and trust. This is the course of action we stand for in European affairs."

WILLIAM J. POMEROY

Socialism and National Freedom in Central Asia

MY WIFE and I flew into Frunze late in the evening. It was quite dark before we reached lodgings on the outskirts of the city. This made it the more dramatic to waken on a bright morning and to see, unexpectedly, the breathtaking snow-capped Alatau mountain range soaring nearby into blue sky above the green, irrigated countryside of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. When, later, we made the comparatively brief flight to Alma-Ata, capital of the adjoining Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, we were impressed by the same towering, ever-snowy range amazingly visible from all points in the city. As an experience of sudden revelation of beauty, it was typical of our whole visit to these Central Asian regions of the Soviet Union and Kazakhstan,* still relatively little known to foreign visitors.

The real beauty lies not in that natural spectacle but in the advancement made under socialism. In the cities and towns of the Western parts of the Soviet Union the structures and traces of pre-revolutionary society, and earlier, are everywhere to be seen, and one has a sense of historical transformation from a well-developed capitalism and feudalism. That is not the case in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, or in the other Central Asian republics. There almost everything is new; virtually everything has been constructed under socialism. There one finds the original and fully-achieved "great leap" in which

* Kazakhstan, situated partly in the European part of the USSR and partly in the Asian area, is just north of the border of Central Asia, and closely associated with it.

WILLIAM J. POMEROY has written extensively on many aspects of socialism and national liberation struggles. He is the author of *The Forest* (1963), about his life with the Huk guerrillas in the Philippines (where he served ten years of a life sentence for his political activities); *Guerrilla and Counter-Guerrilla Warfare* (1964); *Half a Century of Socialism: Soviet Life in the Sixties* (1967); *Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism* (1968); *American Neo-Colonialism* (1970) (for which he was recently awarded the degree of Doctor of Science in History by USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies); and, most recently, *Apartheid Axis: the U.S. and South Africa* (1971).

capitalism was bypassed in the swift change from nomadism to a socialist society.

Our trip in June 1972 was motivated by a desire not only to see evidences of the success of non-capitalist development but equally to observe advances in the interwoven theme of solution of the national question. Historically, prerevolutionary Kazakhstan and Central Asia had been a crossroads of migration and conquest, producing a tangle of oppressed ethnic groups, all with certain common features of economic life but each tenaciously clinging to its own culture. Under the feudal Uzbek khanates of the 16th to 19th centuries, Turkmenians, Tadzhiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Kara-kalpaks and others were ruthlessly exploited. When Tsarist Russian conquest took place in the 19th century it subjected all in turn to an essentially colonial status.

British and American bourgeois historians and anti-communist writers have tried hard to distort the nature of Soviet development in these areas, attempting to paint a picture of continued "Russification" and of "Soviet colonialism." These efforts, part of the imperialist strategy of trying to foster "nationalism" to disrupt unity among the peoples of socialist countries, have been increased in recent years, particularly during the 1972 celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union, the underlying theme of which is the national question and how it has been dealt with in a socialist society. At the time of our visit the 50th anniversary was the dominant topic in the press, on television and in posters and slogans in city streets, factories and farms. "Long Live the Friendship, Equality and Unity of Our Peoples" was a typical slogan.

Both Kirghizia and Kazakhstan are multinational republics: Kirghizia has more than 80 different nationalities, Kazakhstan over 100. Kirghiz and Kazakh minorities live in other Central Asian republics, such as Uzbekistan. Such an intermingling caused considerable difficulty when it came to national delimitation in these areas. It was nearly two decades after the October Revolution before the Kirghiz and Kazakh republics were established in 1936 as sovereign states. Previously they had existed as autonomous regions and then as autonomous republics within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. As was stressed to us repeatedly by the Kirghiz and the Kazakh representatives we met, the final delimitation of territory for the republics was not decreed from above but was arrived at through the expressed wish of the peoples concerned, after experimentation and long discussion in each district where some territorial doubt could arise.

Neither the Kirghiz nor the Kazakh people were absolute majorities in their republics: the Kirghiz in 1970 were 43.6 per cent of the population in Kirghizia, the Kazakhs 32.4 per cent in Kazakhstan. In the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet, however, 222 out of the total of 482 deputies are Kazakhs, a similar ratio prevailing for the Kirghiz in their Supreme Soviet. Others are Tatar, Chuvash, Dungan, Russian, Ukrainian, Uigur, Uzbek, German, Azerbaidzhanian, Korean, and many more.

At the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences in Frunze we had a long talk with the Academy's Kirghiz vice-president, V. Zangrichanov, whose field is history. He pointed out that the solution of the national question and the creation of the Kirghiz socialist republic was not a simple, direct political step but required a long preparatory period of economic and cultural development.

"Before the Revolution," he said, "the region unfortunately was one of the most backward in Tsarist Russia. Less than one per cent of the population were literate—six out of every 1,000—and there was no Kirghiz alphabet or written language. Industry was virtually non-existent, except for a few small coal and salt mines. Agriculture, to the extent that there was any, was primitive cultivation.

"If we had been left to self-help and our own devices, and had been diverted along the line of national exclusiveness, we would have scarcely progressed to the present day. However, we had the unselfish assistance of all the other peoples in the Soviet Union, especially the Russian working class. Under directives written by Comrade Lenin, by party decisions, teachers and skilled workers were sent from Moscow, Leningrad and other places to train our people. Lenin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave much attention to the development of the Kirghiz people. One of their important decrees in 1921 provided 50 million gold rubles for irrigation in Central Asia, including our Chu Valley. This enabled us to cultivate sugar beets for the first time, beginning in 1925. The first sugar mill was constructed with the help of Leningrad workers. Now Kirghizia is the main sugar-producing republic in Central Asia.

"Much attention was paid to the cultural level and the education of the Kirghiz people. The building of national self-confidence based on Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism had first to overcome major obstacles. Moral and political unity among the many nationalities in our republic had to be developed along with the spirit of friendship and mutual exchanges with all the other union republics. Feudal and religious elements had been very strong in the

past, and they tried constantly to stir up national differences both among peoples and among the Kirghiz tribes themselves. Tsarist oppression left a residue of hatred for Russians, and it took years for national self-consciousness to be rooted in class consciousness and the understanding that the interests of Kirghiz and Russian workers and peasants are and always have been the same. It was a very complicated problem that took until around 1932 to overcome; the period of collectivization, too, saw much undermining activity by feudal elements.

"There was not a single research worker of Kirghiz nationality prior to the Revolution. It was not until 1949 that sufficient research cadres had been trained and the conditions created to open a higher research institute of our own. In 1943 a Kirghizian branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was established, under the chairmanship of a well-known Soviet scientist, Scriabin, but it was not until 1955 that this was converted into a full-fledged Kirghiz Academy of Sciences. Today we have 13 research institutes under the Academy, with over 1,000 research workers, 60 per cent of them under 35 years of age."

An international conference on agriculture took place, significantly, in Frunze in 1971, where Kirghiz scientific workers presented papers on non-capitalist development, particularly for the benefit of delegations from Africa and Asia. Mentioning this with pride, Zangrichanov went on:

"Up to the Revolution, and for many years afterward, all Kirghiz tribes were nomadic cattle-breeders, with virtually no knowledge of agriculture. Only some Russian and Ukrainian settlers did farming in this region. The Kirghiz people did not have settled communities but lived in *yurtas* [dome-like felt tents], transporting them from place to place. It was a great task to convince them of the advantages of agriculture and then teach them crop-raising. The actual process of establishing residence in a specific place did not get well under way until collectivization occurred during the First Five-Year Plan, not much more than 30 years ago. Now there are 245 collective farms and 103 state farms in Kirghizia, each with an average of 50 tractors and 20 combines."

We spent a day on the Sintash Kolkhoz, about 50 miles southeast of Frunze, a location of grandeur with those beautiful mountains seen across rolling green fields. Its nucleus, a small-scale farm, was organized in 1932; now it encompasses 28,000 hectares (62,000 acres).

Members of the original farm had been nomadic cattle-breeders. Today Sintash still breeds cattle, 3,000 of them, along with 700 horses,

38,000 sheep in 40 flocks, 1,800 pigs, 13,000 chickens, and is a big producer of wool, eggs, butter, cheese. However, it also raises large crops of wheat, sugar beets, rye, vegetables, fruits and fodder grass.

In a way, Sintash is a wise merger of the old and new ways of life: while crops grow on the plain at the base of the Alatau range, the bulk of cattle, horses and sheep graze high up on the slopes. In the mountains we came across two or three herdsmen or *chaban* on their wiry horses, dressed in traditional padded jackets and conical felt hats like figures out of Kirghiz folk-tales, or the stories of Chinghiz Aitmatov, the world-famous Kirghiz writer who is a product of the new socialist culture. In family groups, the herdsmen may be in these remote upland pastures for weeks, knowing an ancient affinity with the loneliness of wind and sky, but never isolated from the collective of which they are now a part. Helicopters or motorized transport deliver them newspapers and periodicals. They have radio contact with the farm leaders and transistor radios to give them music in the saddle. Clinics and supply stations dot the mountains, where television can be enjoyed. Below, on Sintash farm, is an *internat*, or boarding school, where sons and daughters of herdsmen families live in hostels and study in the absence of their parents. (We visited the school and hostels and observed that they compared favorably with those we have seen in large Soviet cities.)

There are 964 families at Sintash, a population of over 5,000. Among them are 17 nationalities, living and working in harmony. The secretary of the Sintash Party Committee, a 40-year old Kirghiz, Jangagit Kenzhaviev, who was born there and began work as an ordinary collective farmer, had no careful program mapped out for us; he let us choose the places to see and people to talk to, to judge what life is like today on the collective. We entered a number of ordinary farm houses of our choice, unannounced, to meet families totally unprepared for our visit. In each we found a television set, a refrigerator, a gas stove, good furnishings, shelves of books, art objects. These children and grandchildren of nomads obviously live very well.

"Our farm members distribute among themselves 40 per cent of the farm profit," said Kenzhaviev. "Last year this amounted to 899,000 rubles, and each working member received 4.80 rubles for every working day, plus, free of charge, their needs of wheat, sugar, vegetables and fruits produced on the farm. Everything considered, it amounts to a monthly income or equivalent of 180 to 200 rubles. The guaranteed wage on collective farms, set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, is 105 to 130 rubles. In addition, each family is permitted by the Sintash farm constitution to have their own private

plots [one-fourth to one-third hectare] and animals: ten sheep, one cow, poultry; those staying far from the village on herding or other duties may have 25 sheep, one cow, one horse."

Factories visited in Frunze had an even greater mingling of nationalities than we encountered at Sintash. The Kamvol Woolen Combinat, a textile mill organized in 1963 that began full-scale production in 1967, has 40 nationalities among its 5,200 workers, of whom 75 per cent are women. Its director, M. Bolvekov, came from a Kirghiz peasant family, and graduated to the factory from Leningrad Textile Institute, starting out as a shop master (foreman) and moving up to an engineer, then shop chief, then director; his father was killed defending Stalingrad. (Could there be a better example, in a nutshell, of the recent history of Kirghizia?)

The same amalgamation of nationalities we found in the Frunze Agricultural Machine Factory, which employs over 6,000 workers and sends 22 deputies to the city Soviet, two deputies to the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet. (In pre-revolutionary times there were only 1,500 workers in "industry"—soap making, flour milling, leather tanning cottage-style enterprises employing under 20 workers—in all Kirghizia.) We were much impressed by the number of young Kirghiz workers in their early 20's, operating automated heavy machines in the plant's large shops. The factory now exports machines to 16 countries and has been awarded the Red Banner of Labor for its achievements during the 8th Five-Year Plan, completed in 1969. Average monthly wages for its workers had increased from 94 rubles in 1965 to 146 rubles in 1972, and an extra month's wages were paid in 1971 out of a profit of three million rubles.

Plant Director Alexander Zakorovich Kumis, a deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet, kept urging that we see the plant's sports facilities, while I wanted to get into the shops and couldn't understand this diversion—as I misjudged it to be. When we reached the sports complex, however, I understood his eagerness completely. I have never seen such facilities for a plant of its size: a full-scale swimming pool plus a smaller pool for children of workers, tennis and volleyball courts, gymnasium, and spaces and equipment for 17 other sports. A People's Theater was under construction. "We have many artists among our workers," explained the director, who was being called away by the district trade union head to attend the opening of a new Pioneer Camp that the factory's trade union had built.

It would be impressive to find a plant of this kind in Kharkov, Gorky, Sverdlovsk or other leading industrial centers in the Soviet Union; this was in a Central Asian republic that Western propaganda

calls "colonial," with alleged "oppressed nationalities." It helped us appreciate the great expansion of economic and cultural opportunities for all such groups underlying the Soviet Union's profound solution of the nationalities question.

FRUNZE, buried in its trees and foliage, with few tall buildings rising above its greenery, has managed to preserve a provincial charm that is very attractive. Alma-Ata, twice its size with a population of over 800,000, capital of Kazakhstan, is stunningly modern and sophisticated, in fact one of the most beautifully modern cities in the Soviet Union. Its brilliant new imaginative architecture, with Kazakh national design motifs incorporated, can be seen everywhere, in public buildings and apartment blocks alike.

Alma-Ata's very prosperous appearance and the energetic boom are no mere facade. It is now the capital of one of the richest and most rapidly advancing of all Soviet republics. Second in size to the Russian Federation, its tremendous expanse, reaching from the Caspian Sea to the Chinese border, is a treasure-house of mineral wealth, to a large part uncovered by young Kazakh scientific workers. Like Kirghizia, Kazakhstan became a full republic in the Soviet Union in 1936, by which time the requirements of a socialist base had been attained. Since 1940, its people have increased their production by 20 times, or 2,000 per cent. During the 8th Five-Year Plan production rose by 60 per cent.

A "colony"? Prior to the Revolution, there were but 307 tiny enterprises in the whole region. Today there are 22,000 factories, plants, mines, and other industrial enterprises, while a highly mechanized agriculture makes Kazakhstan one of the granaries of the Soviet Union. It is the leading producer in the union of lead and zinc, second in production of copper and oil, not far behind in iron ore, bauxite, chromite, magnesium, and a score of other non-ferrous metals, around which huge processing industries have sprung up. Big new cities have mushroomed all across the republic. Around Karaganda is one of the three leading coal and steel complexes in the Soviet Union. The 350 big machine building plants in the republic alone give the lie to Western propaganda about the Kazakhs being "colonized."

With coincidental good fortune, we arrived in Alma-Ata on the celebration day for the 125th anniversary of the birth of the great Kazakh bard, Dzhambul Dzhabayev. Honored throughout the Soviet Union, Dzhambul, at the age of 95 in 1942, stirred the hearts of all Soviet people with a poem he composed, "Leningraders, My Children,"

addressed to the heroic citizens of that besieged city. The old poet refused to exchange his *yurta* for a modern house to the end of his life, but he was an ardent proponent of socialism and of friendship among peoples.

The celebration concert, which we attended, was held in the huge, striking Lenin Palace of Culture, completed in 1970 for the Lenin Centenary, the main auditorium of which seats 6,000 people, an opulent jewel of a building that rivals the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. In the broad, fountained plaza before it stands the dominant statue of another great Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbayev, founder of the Kazakh written language and literature, only a century ago.

Most of the leading state and party figures of Kazakhstan were present in the concert hall, together with representatives from all over the Soviet Union, to honor Dzhambul. It was a first-class international concert, in which Kazakh and Russian music, poetry, folk dance and ballet alternated, interspersed with Mozart, Bizet, Spanish and Italian music. The Kazakh Kurmangazy State Orchestra of Folk Instruments featured the *dombra*, Dzhambul's two-stringed instrument. This homage paid to Dzhambul was linked by the Alma-Ata newspapers on that day with the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union and its theme of friendship of people and mutual assistance in development.

To see an illustration of that development, we made a trip to the huge Alma-Ata Kolkhoz, an hour's drive from the city, one of Kazakhstan's 425 collective farms, which supplies most of Alma-Ata's meat, vegetables, fruits and dairy products. On this 52,000 hectare farm (114,000 acres) there are 27 nationalities among 5,200 people. Its chairman, Leonid Stepanovich Manusko, a Hero of Socialist Labor, is of Ukrainian descent but was born in Kazakhstan in 1915. He is one of the outstanding veterans of the collective farm movement in Kazakhstan, the major factor in settling Kazakh nomads, and the respect and affection shown him was visible in the attitudes of everyone we met in our tour, and is shown in their election of him to membership in the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan.

The Alma-Ata Kolkhoz was in the midst of a series of meetings for its members on the question of friendship of different nationalities, part of the 50th anniversary celebration. "We have many international marriages," said the chairman, "and in recent years we have had no cases of immorality." (He used the word "immorality" in regard to relations between peoples, not between sexes.)

This multinational farm was even more prosperous than the

Sintash Kolkhoz we had seen in Kirghizia. It had an income of eight million rubles in 1971, and 2.8 million of this was profit used by the farm for distribution, improvements, culture, social insurance.

"The average wage on this farm is 140 rubles a month," said Chairman Manusko. "Advanced workers get more. We now have 500 workers participating in competition for the title of Advanced Worker in Socialist Labor. All members of our farm have savings accounts. One-half of them are waiting to buy cars, and there are already 150 private cars here, and over 300 motorbikes. In our own farm stores people buy their needs at cost price."

In the Kazakh State University in Alma-Ata we had an impressive discussion about the foundation of this prosperity, with the Rector, U. Dzholdazbekov, and heads of the university's present ten faculties. Rector Dzholdazbekov, a keenly intelligent and dynamic representative of Kazakhstan's intelligentsia, is a specialist in machine-building and metallurgy.

"Among the Kazakh people at the time of the Revolution," he told us, "only two per cent could read and write. Only 22 Kazakhs had had a higher education, coming from rich feudal families. The condition of illiteracy was wiped out by the end of the First Five-Year Plan, when a general primary and secondary education had been achieved. However, this was not enough to equip our people for rapid development. The Kazakh Territorial Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of the Kazakh Autonomous Republic informed the All-Union Government on April 24, 1933 that our institutions then could provide only 0.33 per cent of Kazakhstan's requirements for highly trained specialists. On October 20, 1933, therefore, the USSR Council of People's Commissars responded to our appeal with a resolution, "On the Training of Specialists for Kazakhstan," which included a provision for establishing this State University.

"It was inaugurated on January 15, 1934, with 54 students beginning studies at two faculties, the two most immediately needed, that of Physics and Mathematics and that of Biology. Today we have nearly 10,000 students, about 5,000 of them full-time, and we have outgrown our present buildings. A new university complex is now being built; it will accommodate 20,000 students, 10,000 of them full-time. As we say, our republic is advancing at cosmic speed, and our need to train specialists is constantly growing. At present our Academy of Sciences has 26,000 scientific workers.

"We are quite aware of imperialist propaganda about our republic and our people. Let me ask if the tremendous advancement that is

clearly visible to all who would come and see is in any way possible without the utmost national and individual freedom. It is well known that freedom of expression and of development are stifled in colonial and neo-colonial societies, but the leadership of our party and government demand that all the lessons in our faculties here encourage the ability to think. Our scientific workers and skilled workers—Kazakh, Russian, Uigur, Tatar, Korean, Dungan and the many others—could not make the great contribution they have made to our development without free thinking and equality. We think as Kazakhs and we think as Soviet citizens; that is no contradiction, it is the socialist internationalism that makes us all equal and unified."

Professor A. B. Tursunbayev, head of the university's Chair of the History of the CPSU, added this:

"In 1954 U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas visited the Soviet Union. He wrote a book about his travels, in which he had a chapter entitled 'The Soviet Colonial Empire,' referring to our Central Asian republics, including Kazakhstan. This man with a liberal reputation, who certainly would not render a legal decision without carefully examining a case, made no actual investigation before rendering such a political judgment. Other Western books are worse in their malice.

"All the progress we have made is due to Soviet power. Before Soviet power there was not one scientist in our whole territory; now we have in Kazakhstan 8,000 doctors of science. We now have more than three million workers in our economy. Our progress is the result of the unity and full equality of many nationalities, over 100 in our republic, and of the unstinting fraternal assistance of our brother republics, especially the Russian people, who sent engineers, worker brigades, technicians, from Moscow, Leningrad, Donbas, Kharkov, Baku, Sverdlovsk and many other cities to train our workers and help set up the big industrial projects you now find here.

"We have achieved the astonishing transition from backward nomadism to an industrialized socialist society in a short space of time. Any honest person knows that this cannot be done without working-class leadership. The working class in our territory was in its mere infancy when the Revolution occurred, so it was the more advanced Russian working class that filled the gap, that helped us lay the basis of socialism.

"As you know, the great opening up of virgin lands for wheat and other crops has occurred in Kazakhstan, beginning in 1953. Over 25 million new hectares [55 million acres] of our lands were made productive in this way, greatly increasing our national wealth. It was

done through hundreds of thousands of volunteers coming from all other republics, especially Russian volunteers. Western propagandists maliciously use this fine example of brotherly aid to cite figures showing an increase of Russians in our population, calling it 'Russification.' It is a typical, absurd distortion. Our achievements are the achievements of the whole Soviet people who have made our people able to realize their potential, just as Kazakhstan contributes with what it produces to the development of our brother republics. This is the true meaning of national development and national equality under socialism."

CELIA MARIANO POMEROY

The Women of Soviet Kirghizia and Kazakhstan: Yesterday and Today

ON SINTASH Collective Farm, near Frunze in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, my husband and I entered one farmhouse unannounced to find a Kirghiz peasant just in from the fields, stripped to the waist and washing up. Taken by surprise, he hastily tried to show us the features in his home of which he was proud. The first thing he did was to press forward his teenage daughter, throwing his arm about her and saying with the utmost pride: "This is my daughter, who is an honor student in the secondary school!"

Immediately, I thought of Altynai, the girl of Chinghiz Aitmatov's memorable Kirghiz film, *The First Teacher*, whose rude schooling in the early days of Soviet power was ridiculed and resisted by the men of a backward nomadic, feudal society. How far the women, and the men, of socialist Kirghizia have come!

During our visit in June 1972 to the Central Asian Soviet re-

CELIA MARIANO POMEROY, a Filipina, fought in the Huk guerrilla movement against Japanese occupation during World War II and in the postwar Philippine armed struggle for national liberation, heading the women's division and then supervising its training schools. Imprisoned, like her husband, for ten years for her activities, she now lives with her husband in London, teaching and writing.

publics of Kirghizia and Kazakhstan,* my husband and I had many such impressions of the fantastic leap these formerly backward Asian regions had made from the murk of a feudal age to the shining, modern, mechanized and industrialized era of socialism. Being an Asian woman myself, I found most fascinating the remarkable change that has come about in the status of women in hampered the eradication of illiteracy among women and the campaign to give them equal rights. Women organizers, combating the these places that most people in the West think of as remote.

The problem of emancipating the women in Asian areas was far more difficult and sensitive than in other parts of the Soviet Union. Reactionary landowners or flockowners and priests resisted Soviet rule as a whole, kept old traditions and prejudices alive and hostile attitude of men whose minds still held outworn ideas, showed great courage and determination. Many were subjected to threats, insults, and ill-treatment, some even were murdered by the feudal opponents of liberation.

In Frunze I met with five distinguished women who were members of the Friendship Society of Kirghizia and of the Women's Committee of their republic, as well as prominent in their own respective fields of work. Tilyen Turgumbayeva is chairman of the Friendship Society. She came from a family of very poor peasants. Her parents died when she was only one year old, and relatives took care of her. She was illiterate until the age of 14. The introduction of education for all by the Soviet Government enabled her to go to school and receive higher education. In time she became a full-time functionary in the Communist Party of Kirghizia and has been a leader of the Friendship Society for 11 years.

Anvar Usmanova, a doctor of medicine and a professor, is assistant director of a university Department of Physiotherapy.

Mukalegi Botohanova, from a poor peasant family, worked on a collective farm, and later in a meat plant. Since 1940 she has been a journalist. Today she is a staff member of the magazine *Kirghizian Woman* and also writes for the newspaper *Soviet Kirghizia*. In addition she is a deputy of the City Soviet of Frunze.

Ainek Aikolova, a Hero of Socialist Labor, has been serving as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of Kirghizia since 1945. She is now director of a factory called "Forty Years of October," where she began to work in 1937.

The youngest of the group, Anar Maikyesova, 31 years old, is the secretary of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Young Commu-

* See footnote, page 63.

nist League, a teacher of English in the Pedagogical Institute, and a deputy of the City Soviet of Frunze.

From these women, who represent a cross-section of women's role in Kirghizia, I learned how the lives of their Kirghiz sisters had been transformed.

"Before the October Revolution," said Anvar Usmanova, "the women of all Central Asia were kept as the most backward section of a backward society, bound by customs and laws we consider inhuman today. They were made to believe they were inferior and had always to subordinate themselves to men. In the Muslim regions, women were secluded behind high feudal walls and had to hide their faces from public view behind thick horse-hair veils called *yashmaks*. The cruel code of religious laws (*shariat*) and the unwritten law of the mountains (*adat*) legalized polygamy, the marriage of children, and purchase and sale of brides; other patriarchal and feudal customs held women in further bondage. Daughters were chattels. It was considered a calamity if a girl was born into a family.

"In the home a woman was burdened with exhausting housework and heavy farm chores. She was the property of her husband and could be sold, bequeathed or given to a guest. She could not eat or drink water in the presence of her husband. She was not allowed to talk with her father-in-law. If the husband died, the *adat* customs required that the widow become the wife of the brother or cousin of the deceased. Thus the women of Central Asia had no rights whatsoever in the family or in society."

When Soviet power was victorious in Central Asia, the Kirghiz, Kazakh, and many other nationalities benefited enormously from the revolutionary changes. The Soviet Government abrogated all the ancient and obsolete laws that lowered the status of women. Lenin and the Communist Party of Russia gave great importance to the emancipation of the women of Central Asia.

Within a few weeks after its establishment, the Soviet State enacted a series of laws granting women equal rights with men in all spheres. On December 22 (9), 1917 the government introduced equal pay for equal work and gave women access to all economic and cultural fields. Special laws were adopted on labor protection for women and on mother and child protection, including maternity leave with full pay, and free medical care for mother and child. Special efforts were made to lift women from illiteracy and unskilled labor conditions.

"Of course," Tilyen Turgumbayeva took up the story, "the mere

adoption of laws could not eradicate feudal concepts and traditions concerning the inferiority of women. The people, and especially the women, had to be brought actively into the struggles to achieve genuine emancipation.

"A serious campaign of education and propaganda was launched in Central Asia in the 1920s to arouse women and to fight for their emancipation. In 1920 women's departments were set up by the Soviet state in what is now Kirghizia and Kazakhstan. These took local conditions and customs into account in their work. Usually they began with individual talks with women in their homes or in the public baths. Five or six women at a time, after patient effort, would be drawn into meetings on women's rights. One problem was that men could not be invited to speak. At first there were literally no women of Kirghizia or other national groups with the training to lecture or to organize other women. Russian women organizers were sent by the state and the party to our regions to initiate the campaign, and they had to contend with the language barrier and the scarcity of interpreters. This was part of the great fraternal assistance we obtained from the Russian people in winning our equality and socialist advancement."

Tilyen Turgumbayeva, Anvar Usmanova and the others in the group added many details on the prolonged campaigns that overcame the backward conditions of women in a land of nomadism. The women's congresses were a potent factor. Women delegates, old and young, some with babies, came in groups or singly from towns, villages, and nomad camps. Some brought their husbands along, provided with "guest tickets." The men sat in the back rows and listened. The women were given much attention and respect. Republic and party leaders reported fully about women's activities in the different Soviet republics. Speeches were fiery, urging women to take advantage of the rights and freedoms accorded them by the new Soviet decrees. Local problems were discussed, and suggestions made about overcoming the slavish practices women had to endure. Such congresses made a profound impact on the women's movement throughout Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Various types of women's clubs were set up. In the towns these could be a hive of activity, where women could visit freely. Among the nomad population in vast pasture lands, traveling clubs would gather women in the pastures, inform them of the new Soviet laws and decrees, read newspapers and books to them, teach them to read and write, with libraries eventually established. A lawyer would accompany the traveling clubs, to give legal aid to women, help

them write applications, examine complaints, or act as defense counsel in court cases. A doctor would go along to provide medical care and to teach the rudiments of hygiene, the use of soap and proper laundering, and preparation of nutritious food.

The traveling women's clubs introduced nomad women to simple machines like a milk separator, demonstrating how easier and cleaner was this method of processing milk. Sewing machines were introduced in the same way. Women's club sections were soon set up to run workshops and cooperatives where women could learn trades and skills such as spinning, weaving, garment-making; later, when more educated, they were trained as obstetricians, accountants, telegraphers or typists in the same way.

Soviet decrees passed in 1924 in Kirghizia and Kazakhstan abolished *kalym* (payment for brides), polygamy, and the inheritance of women as wives. The marriage age of girls was raised to 16 and of boys to 18; the *shariat*, allowing girls of nine to be married, was abolished. Women's meetings were held to celebrate the enactment of the new decrees, and people who persisted in flouting the laws were publicly denounced in show-trials. Plays, concerts, and satirical skits were performed to expose the harmful feudal practices.

While my husband and I were in Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, we could see evidence wherever we went of the complete change in the lives of women since those early exciting days. In Frunze we visited a large textile factory, the Komvol Woolen Combinat, in which 75 per cent of the 5,200 work force are women. Here the assistant director is a woman, as are the head of the trade union, the Party Secretary, and the head of the Komsomol organization. Most of the 500 workers in this factory who had been awarded the Lenin Jubilee Medal for achievement in 1970 were women.

During our tour of the Komvol shops, we learned that there are 40 nationalities handling every type of operation. One Kirghiz woman with whom we stopped to talk, Batma Tokusheva, an outstanding worker, is one of the Lenin Medal winners. Now 37 years old, a worker in this factory for 16 years, she is an elected member of the People's Control Committee that checks on plant administration, and a twice-elected deputy in the Frunze City Soviet. She told us her husband, who works in the Frunze Agricultural Machinery plant, helps her in the housework.

In the spinning room we met a 27-year-old Russian woman, Nadia Lavskaya. Nadia, the only Russian we noted in a roomful of Kirghiz, Tatar and Uigur women, had come to the plant seven years before from Novosibirsk, in Siberia. She was operating 612 spindles and

overfulfilling her daily program by 170 to 180 per cent, earning 200 rubles a month, the average wage then being 113 rubles. Her multinational workmates had sent her as a delegate to the All-Union Congress of Trade Unions in Moscow in 1972.

Kirghiz women are employed not only in light industry but also in the heavier industries. When we visited the Frunze Agricultural Machinery plant we discovered that 1,500 of its 6,000 workers were women.

KAZAKHSTAN, a republic extremely well-endowed with resources, has advanced dramatically from the same backward, nomadic conditions known prior to the October Revolution by the Kirghiz people. The smartly dressed girls and women on the streets of Alma-Ata today are workers, university students, government employees, teachers, doctors, engineers, community leaders. One of the first things that caught our attention on arrival was that virtually every bus and tram had a woman driver.

We attended a concert in Alma-Ata's Lenin Palace of Culture in celebration of the 125th anniversary of Dzhabul Dzhabayev, the most loved of Kazakhstan's bards. The orchestral music was provided by the famous Kazakh Kurmangazy State Orchestra of Folk Instruments, and I was especially impressed to see that more than half of its musicians were women. The most popular and most applauded performers on the program were the Kazakh women singers.

The sophisticated city of Alma-Ata might be considered not the most representative place as far as Kazakhstan's women are concerned. We found, however, that in the countryside as well, where old feudal attitudes would be expected to linger longest, the women play leading and responsible roles. At the Alma-Ata Kolkhoz the secretary of the party committee of the district that embraces this huge collective farm is a woman—Maria Georgievna Zlobina. She was one of those who showed us around the farm and told us about life in the district. We were informed that it is not unusual for women to be directors of collective and state farms in Kazakhstan.

In the virgin lands of the republic, for example, the Dvurechny State Farm in the Akmolinsk region was built under the direction of a woman, Yevdokia Zaichukova, who has been its director since 1954, as well as secretary of the Party District Committee. On the Svobodny State Farm, also in the virgin lands, there are 60 women truck drivers who were trained by their woman leader, Liuba Yatsuk. Kazakh women drive tractors, cotton-pickers, sugar beet harvesters, and other farm machines.

LE DUAN

First Secretary, Workers Party, Democratic Republic of Vietnam

THE SPECTACULAR achievements of the Soviet Union in every field enhance its economic and defense potential, considerably strengthen the forces of socialism and the international revolutionary movement now on the offensive, and greatly inspire the peoples in their struggle against imperialism and for the basic aims of our times: peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

KHALED MOHI EL-DIN

Chairman, Peace Council in Egypt; Member, World Peace Council

THE EQUALITY of all the peoples forming the Soviet Union is reflected in the USSR Constitution. This document made a tremendous impression on the peoples in colonial and dependent countries. To this day, it continues to be to them an example of a genuinely democratic law, an example of the settlement of the national problem. The USSR Constitution proclaims the equality of citizens, irrespective of nationality or race, in all fields of economic, state, cultural and social activity. Every republic has its government, parliament and code of laws and uses its national language.

The strength of this family was tested at the time of the Second World War. Russians and Ukrainians, Azerbaidzhanians and Armenians, representatives of big and small peoples of the USSR fought shoulder to shoulder, defending their socialist country. The victory over the aggressor was won only due to this inviolable friendship.

Of the 482-member Kazakh Supreme Soviet, 170 are women, 56 of them Kazakh women. The republic's Minister of Education, Boldzan Bultrikova is a woman, as is the Minister of Social Security, Omarova. Chief designer of the beautiful Kazakh Academic Opera and Ballet Theater is also a woman, Gulfairus Ismailova, holder of the title Honored Worker in the Arts; she is also a theatrical set designer, a film director, and an accomplished actress. A woman academician, Naila Bazanova, a Doctor of Science in Biology, directs research at the Kazakh Academy of Sciences on farm animals. Bibigul Tulegenova, the possessor of a superb lyrical coloratura soprano, has been awarded the title People's Artist of the Soviet Union for her tremendous success as a singer not only in her native country but also in other parts of the world. The list is very long.

Our interpreter in Kazakhstan, Zhenya Sauranbaeva, is a very lovely and competent 23-year-old daughter of a Kazakh-Russian marriage. A graduate of the University of Kazakhstan, she said she wanted

to improve her command of languages, especially English, to prepare for a career in the Soviet foreign service. "We learn about the former backward status of women in our republic from our studies in school," she said, "but in my life and for my generation it has all been different."

With Zhenya we attended a performance of a musical comedy put on by a youth dramatic group at the magnificent Lenin Palace of Culture. It was built around a beauty contest for women in a university, in which an intelligent, studious and good-looking girl triumphed over the more glamorous beauty with an indifference to learning. Its cast had the latest styles for youth in dress, dance and song. We asked Zhenya rather dubiously if the youth, especially the young women, in the State University dressed like that. "More or less," she said. "It is not unreal."

I found myself contrasting that bright, sophisticated, if rather frothy musical comedy, and its underlying theme of more respect for brains than for beauty, with the agit-prop plays performed in the early 1920s in these regions to awaken women to their rights and the need to struggle for them. The *yashmak* and the secluded life of the women in the nomadic *ymta* are really a distant and faint memory now in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

DAVID BUEHRENS

Jamilya: A New Woman In Old Kirghizia

SMALL NUMBERS of Soviet films are now reaching US audiences with greater frequency. Many are classics; some are recent releases illustrating the sophisticated work being done in the studios of various Soviet nationalities. *Jamilya*, based on a novella by Kirghiz author Chinghiz Aitmatov, is one example that played this summer for an unfortunately brief ten days or so at a New York theater.

The very success abroad of Aitmatov's fiction, including *Farewell Gyulsary* and *First Teacher*,* and the films based on it illustrate the spirit of humanist internationalism which informs his work. As head of the Kirghiz Union of Cinema Writers—something almost

* These and other works by Aitmatov are now available in English in the collection *Stories of Mountains and Steppes* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969).

unthinkable a few decades ago—Aitmatov has contributed to the further popularization of his writing by also doing his own film scripts. But a main factor in his wide influence is that Aitmatov's Kirghizians, formerly among the most backward and ignorant of the tsarist empire, bespeak in myriad subtle ways the great social forces now transforming their lives through their own collective, purposeful activity. Peasant and villager, young and old, see themselves in new ways as mutual horizons expand.

People in Aitmatov's Kirghizia, itself homeland for scores of nationalities, develop depth and richness in contact with others. Central to his writing is thus an exploration of the warmth and sensitivity of human relationships of all kinds. In Aitmatov's words, "literature must foster a moral outlook in man, awaken compassion without which he cannot be called human, and develop within him freedom from fear. But literature has a supreme task . . . to capture and preserve the emotional image of its time. . . . man exists as an individual and as a part of a whole, reflecting the entire world of his epoch, and the ideas, philosophy, problems of his time" ("Interview with Chinghiz Aitmatov," *Soviet Literature*, March 1972). The experience of Soviet Kirghizia in the past several decades is especially representative, for it typifies powerfully the struggle of a decisively large portion of the world's population to pass from the conditions of primitive provincialism to those of an eventually modern socialism. Herein lies its greatest importance.

Jamilya, an idyllically beautiful, 76-minute long evocation of a Central Asian boyhood in the forties, inevitably recalls also the US movie "Summer of Forty-Two," which also explored the maturation of an adolescent youth against the distant background of World War II. Both pictures center on a naive but widening perception of adult love by boys whose countries are also growing up. But there are many differences, chief of which is that what is at most an awkwardly groping sexual infatuation in the US film, is in *Jamilya* an incipient awareness of social roles and rights, with maturity not always synonymous with age.

Jamilya is a treasure of exquisite scenic photography in sepia and black and white alternating with stills of brightly colored drawings. But despite the emphasis of most reviewers it is not merely about some kind of exotic Soviet Eden with picturesque Asian faces. The heroine cannot be understood apart from her social environment. A vivacious, attractive and engagingly independent character, full of the joy and assertiveness of young womanhood, *Jamilya* outgrows a web of age-old folk customs and thoughtways straining

under a new technology and a national Soviet war effort. When men have to leave for the front, women replace them in family life and in labor. Jamilya and Kirghizia will never be the same again.

Jamilya is the bride of a rather coarse, cruel man who has treated her more as a chattel than a human being. He "won" her in the ancient tribal ritual of the suitors' horserace, and ironically, he loses her in a similar chase at the end when he returns from the war: she has found a new man who is gentle and kind as well as manly. He is Daniyar, a convalescent soldier, whose attentions to Jamilya her younger brother, Seit, rejects but is finally compelled to accept. Protective possession loses out to the love of equals, as Daniyar and Jamilya flee, successfully escaping the vengeance of the outraged husband as well as the adhesive attachment of her younger brother.

It is through Seit's eyes and memory that the story is seen in all its intense and timeless immediacy. But Seit is now looking back, as he narrates, from the vantage of an adult artist in a modern studio, which contrasts sharply with the primitive mountain home of his past. One can see the mountains through the studio windows, and the same sun shines down on the paintings on the floor. Seit knows now that it could not be otherwise: Jamilya had to be free, just as surely as mature love had to replace childish affection and the bonds of village custom. But childhood memories are both sweet and instructive; they tell Seit who he is and where he has come from, and that is why we, too, treasure them.

In Aitmatov's words again: "tradition has unquestionably brought to us much of the tragedy that has confronted man over the centuries of his history;" but "a study of the past leads to a greater mutual understanding, helps open the minds of peoples to one another." *Jamilya* is a truly remarkable film, bright with the vigor and savor of young socialist life in an old civilization.

SILVA KAPUTIKIAN

Song About Our Stones

O, stones....

You are history itself!

*We lived in misfortune, in poverty,
and we built mournful buildings*

SILVA KAPUTIKIAN is a well-known Armenian woman poet.

as monuments to darkness.

*The builders with doomed eyes
wiped the blood and sweat from their brows
and used black stones in the walls
that were like our black fate.*

*Black are the melancholy monasteries,
and the ancient temples are black.*

*The worn features
of my Armenia are revealed by them.*

*O, sad, black, mournful stones,
of the floors,*

the ceilings,

the walls,

murky,

smoke-stained,

dents hollowed out in floors

by kneeling supplicants!

But somewhere, colorful and varied,

hidden quietly in corners,

*some stones of happiness were concealed in the earth,
like bits of coal under ashes.*

O, stones that slept through all the centuries,

You who have known grim times,

O, stones, rose-colored,

lilac and violet stones!

You have come out of the depths,

which were so unfitting for you.

Come up, up,

onto the earth.

You have struggled up to the people—

and the earth has been gladdened!

The spring colors of the new walls

are like the color of our spring days,

and the full destiny of my Armenia

is like the destiny of her stones.

The new day has awakened them

with gentle hands.

O, stones, rose-colored,

lilac and violet stones!

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN,
with the editorial assistance of
NAN BRAYMER

EDUARD BAGRAMOV

Soviet National Policy: Its Meaning for the World

THE FIFTY-year history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics makes particularly evident the tremendous significance of its achievements, not only for the Soviet peoples themselves but for the development of the world socialist system and, indeed, the entire international liberation movement.

The Communist Party and Soviet state inherited a tangled skein of problems, social and national, from the feudal tsarist regime. The most pressing task was to end the centuries-old national oppression and eliminate strife between nations. But it was also necessary to secure to the various nations of the old Russian Empire the right to national self-determination; they themselves had to decide whether to remain within a Russian federation or become separate states. And finally it was essential to help formerly oppressed peoples make up for lost time in a relatively brief historical period in order to overcome their economic and cultural inequality. For, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, if internationalism is to be more than a mere formality, it should consist not only in formal observance of the equality of nations but in pursuing a course aimed at aligning the actual levels of the particular nations' development, thus making it possible to compensate for historically formed inequities. "He who does not understand this," Lenin stressed, "does not understand the truly proletarian attitude toward the nationalities question" (V. I. Lenin, *Complete Collected Works*, Vol. XLV, Russian Edition, p. 359).

Such a task, which only a socialist state could undertake, was accomplished only by drawing the masses into socialist construction and by the mutual aid and assistance of the various nationalities, above all by the support rendered by the Russian working class to the other Soviet peoples' economic and cultural progress. Such aid

EDUARD BAGRAMOV, born in 1930, is a graduate of the Moscow Institute of International Relations and a Doctor of Philosophy. He is Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the leading Soviet theoretical magazine, *Kommunist*.

enabled the many Soviet nations within a very short time to overcome their relative backwardness. Kazakhstan serves as a good example of the benefits of such a policy. While industrial output for the USSR as a whole increased 10.2 times between 1940 and 1968, in Kazakhstan it rose almost 16 times. Between 1960 and 1968, Kazakhstan's industrial output more than doubled. This progress, along with unparalleled advance in agriculture and culture in general, was possible only with the assistance of all the Soviet peoples, in other words, with the labor of more than 100 different nationalities.

Kazakhstan has also made great cultural strides since the Revolution. Prior to 1917, for example, only 22 Kazakhs had received a higher education. But today there are more than 10,000 schools attended by over three million children throughout the Republic. Kazakhstan's 43 higher and 187 specialized educational institutions now serve over 400,000 students. There are almost 700,000 persons with a higher or specialized secondary education now employed in the Republic's economy. Could the Kazakh nomads who formerly lived in the deepest poverty and ignorance ever have dreamed of such things?

Such radical changes in social life are of course also accompanied by psychological change in the minds of the people. Feelings of estrangement and mistrust are replaced by the sense of *belonging to one united family*. The example of Kazakhstan has many parallels in the fifty-year history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Socialism has thus brought the Soviet nations not only equality and freedom, but bound them together by ties of friendship and cooperation, thereby giving them unprecedented strength. The national question, in the historical context in which it arose under capitalism, that is, the question of abolishing national oppression, inequality and antagonism between nations, has been solved in the Soviet land. However, the problem of further strengthening the socialist brotherhood of the peoples remains on the agenda.

And this is understandable. Only by being obviously utopian is it possible to claim that in a country which has more than 100 nations and nationalities the problems of developing national relations at present and in the foreseeable future can all be solved. But it goes without saying that these problems have nothing in common with problems in capitalist countries. They are questions of improving Soviet national statehood, properly combining all-Union and republican and regional interests, of developing the culture of every nation and Soviet culture as a whole, of improving the education of people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and patriotism, of

combating nationalism and chauvinism. It is wrong to think that the solution of these problems and the further development of national relations can proceed spontaneously, automatically.

Socialism does not remove problems of national relations completely, but steers their solution toward relations free of antagonism and marked by ever broader cooperation and friendship of the peoples, and the elimination of reactionary sediments of the old epoch. But the process of creating the new type of national relations and the further development of national and international communities encompasses quite a long historical period in which constant purposeful effort is demanded of the party and the state.

In each country the solution of the national question is distinct and must be based on the nature of that people's historical development, the national composition of its population, and the specific level of economic and cultural development of its social system. The multinational Soviet state has been a giant laboratory in which the advantages and possibilities of the socialist system were comprehensively tested in the effort to abolish all forms of national oppression, to realize the nations' right to self-determination and the creation of national statehood; to unite the many nations on the basis of the struggle for socialism and communism; and to confirm internationalist convictions in the conscience of the working people.

Guiding Principles of Soviet National Policy

THE MAIN Leninist principles of national policy which have guided the Soviet Communist Party during these fifty years of the USSR are as follows: First, the class approach to national problems. The CPSU position proceeds from the unity of interests of the working class and all working people, regardless of national origin. It is a unity conditioned by common class objectives in their struggle against capitalism and imperialism, and for the social and national emancipation of nations.

An abstract approach to the national question is alien to Marxism-Leninism. Rejecting bourgeois concepts of the allegedly eternal and inevitable antagonism of different nationalities, supposedly conditioned by racial, psychological or irrational factors, Marxists believe that the national question in every historical period has a specific content, and that national emancipation is an indispensable link in the social liberation of working people. This approach presumes that account must be taken of specific national distinctions at the same time that they are considered in the context of common proletarian class objectives.

In this matter, both overemphasis and disregard of national distinctions are intolerable. The experience of the international communist and workers' movement has conclusively shown that such over-stressing of national demands and neglect of shared class objectives are typical features of both Right and "Left" opportunism.

Second, unconditional recognition of the right of each nation to decide its destiny, the nations' right to self-determination. This demand found its practical embodiment in the Soviet state's first acts in the field of national relations—"Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia" and the address "To All the Toiling Moslems of Russia and the East" which met with tremendous international response. This policy made possible the actual secession of Poland and Finland, which had been part of the Tsarist Empire. The essence of the decisions on the national question adopted by the party, as noted by the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) in April 1923, "was (a) resolute renunciation of all and every form of coercion with regard to nationalities; (b) recognition of the equality and sovereignty of nations in deciding their destiny; (c) recognition of the fact that stable unification of nations may be achieved only on principles of cooperation and voluntary associations; (d) proclamation of the truth that such unification may be realized only as a result of overthrowing the rule of capital."

Third, equality of all races and nations, guarantees of actual equality between nations. In socialist society, national origin cannot serve either as a source of privileges or as a ground for any limitation of rights.

As already stressed, the strength of the Leninist national policy is that it does not confine itself to a mere proclamation of equal rights of every nation and nationality but ensures their practical attainment. "Our five years' experience in settling the national question in a country that contains a tremendous number of nationalities such as could hardly be found in any other country," Lenin stated in 1922, "gives us the full conviction that under such circumstances the only correct attitude to the interests of nations is to meet those interests in full and provide conditions that exclude any possibility of conflicts on that score."

From the very beginning the new Soviet state came out for active and equal participation of all nations and countries in international affairs. "The novelty of our international scheme," Georgi Chicherin wrote in a letter to Vladimir Lenin, is primarily that it provides for participation by those countries "on an equal footing with European peoples" in international affairs, and the "right to prevent inter-

ference in their internal affairs." Lenin fully approved this formulation.

Fourth, the struggle for international unity of the working class and the working people against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. The formation of the USSR was the outcome of prolonged and tireless efforts of the Communist Party, its central and local organizations, directed towards unification of the country's nations and consolidation of their unity in defense of revolutionary gains, in socialist construction.

The party decisively overcame deviations in the national question—both in the direction of great power chauvinism and of local nationalism. The former consisted, in particular, of disregard for the republics' rights, for the distinctive development of each of them, of a scornful attitude towards local cadres. Aspirations for national exclusiveness, over-emphasis of local distinctions and neglect of the international tasks of Soviet power characterized the latter. The party fought against both these deviations by drawing the working people into socialist construction, strengthening the international principle in the party organizations' activities and structure and educating the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

In the field of national relations, as in other spheres of social life, haste or subjectivism are particularly intolerable. Alluding to the elaboration and realization of a correct national policy, Lenin wrote in 1921: "This is a worldwide question, and that is no exaggeration. In this you must be especially strict."

National and International: A Dialectical Relationship

AS IN other fields, the development of Soviet culture is a two-way process—the progress of its component national cultures, on the one hand, and their increasing unity through mutual spiritual enrichment and reciprocal exchanges on the other. At the same time, Soviet culture assimilates the best achievements of progressive foreign cultures. In speaking of the drawing together of the USSR's peoples and the strengthening of their social, political and economic unity, we proceed from the premise that in economic life, as in culture, language and psychology, the Soviet nations will retain their specific features for a long time to come, even as they assimilate general features. But Communists are resolute opponents of national isolation, which leads to cultural monotony, stagnation and decay.

Bourgeois and revisionist ideologists advocate the conservation of all national forms, proclaiming themselves defenders of "cultural pluralism" as against the drawing together of cultures under social-

ism, which they depict as the forcible absorption of small nations' cultures by the culture of a large nation. For example, the development of industry and agricultural mechanization, in the view of some Western sociologists, harms national cultures and obliterates national distinctions. But the fallacy in such a formulation is the false identification of the "national" with the "patriarchal," and national customs with something rudimentary, associated only with little-developed forms of production and contact among people. We consider as "national" not only what was inherited from a past epoch, but also what emerges transformed in the new conditions. In fact, the drawing together of cultures under socialism, as the experience of our country demonstrates, does not imply a mechanical combination of cultures but the deepening of their socialist content, along with an atrophy of obsolete forms and an extensive utilization of progressive forms that are the common property of all the Soviet peoples.

Soviet scholars have recently produced a good many works that explore from scientific positions the historical experience of the CPSU in resolving the nationalities question and the processes of the flourishing and drawing together of socialist nations. At the same time, national relations in our country are sometimes elucidated in this literature without consideration for the new stage in their development, reflecting a kind of inertia, in which these relations are examined through the prism of a bygone period, the one in which the socialist nations were formed and their economic and cultural backwardness overcome. But at the present stage of national relations, researchers ought to devote more profound study and analysis to the processes of drawing together of the Soviet nations and do more comprehensive research on the all-Soviet, internationalist elements that have become the property of all peoples and the only basis on which there can be correct understanding of the distinctiveness of national development in our time. Unfortunately, certain scholarly works still place excessive emphasis on specifically national elements to the detriment of internationalist factors, while others are in a hurry to throw the national element overboard, as something archaic.

National relations in the USSR are now at a new stage, marked by the further drawing together of nations. This process is expressed in great mobility of people of different nationalities, reciprocal exchange of personnel, greater multinationality of the Soviet republics, the birth and development of general Soviet traditions. The formation in the USSR of a social community of different nationalities

without precedent in history, the Soviet people, is a concrete result of this drawing together of nations.

Implications for Other Socialist Countries

THE SOVIET experience in resolving the national question is now exerting a tremendous influence on relations between the various countries of the socialist community. Fraternal cooperation among socialist states is a mighty accelerator of social progress. It promotes increasing effectiveness in social production, and the introduction of the latest scientific-technological achievements. It fosters development of material and spiritual culture, and a higher standard of living for the masses. World socialist experience shows clearly that rational use of each country's facilities and the opportunities provided by the international socialist division of labor make it possible to realize most effectively all the advantages of socialism.

In the past twenty years, for example, industrial output of the socialist community has increased 6.8-fold, while in the developed capitalist countries, the rise is only 2.8-fold. The CPSU readily shares its richest experience in creation of a new society with all fraternal parties and, in its turn, accepts all that is valuable in *their* experience.

The communist movement has accumulated most valuable experience in implementing the Leninist principles of socialist development of all nations on the basis of their growing international cooperation. In the socialist world, in which social and national oppression has been abolished, conditions have been created for the comprehensive development of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of free nations, both within the framework of each country and in the relations of the entire socialist community.

Leninist principles of national policy embodied in the USSR were further developed in concrete historical conditions of other countries of the socialist community. Relations between nations and nationalities in the fraternal socialist countries are based on political equality, economic mutual assistance, mutual influence and enrichment of national cultures. In several socialist countries which have national minorities (for example, Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria), their constitutions guarantee them equal rights and freedoms.

Speaking of the development of a federative socialist state (such states, in addition to the USSR, as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), it is necessary to stress the importance of continuously strengthening the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party as the force consolidating the union of free nations. Life has shown that any weakening of the

party's leading role, any deviation from the Leninist principles of national policy, leads to the growth of centrifugal trends and violation of the fraternal unity of the nations.

The measures in the field of national policy implemented recently by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are thus of great importance. The document "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia," adopted at a Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee in December 1970, speaks of a just solution of nationality relations within the framework of the federal system of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which created a stable foundation for genuinely equal cooperation between the Czechs and the Slovaks. At the national conference of the Czechoslovak National Front in January 1971, CP First Secretary Gustav Husak stated: "Czechoslovakia is the homeland of two equal nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks, and it is also the homeland of citizens of Hungarian, Ukrainian, Polish and German nationalities. By forming the federation we have realized the principles of the Leninist national policy in our conditions. We have expressed the equality of our nations by the new state legal system . . . National and racial enmity, chauvinism in any form are alien to socialism and we must root out their survivals from our life."

Distinctive conditions of national development have also evolved in Cuba. The process of formation of a single Cuban nation took place in the course of the long liberation struggle which united the working people—the Creoles, Negroes, mestizos and mulattos. This process mainly ended with the victory of the Revolution. It is characteristic that the Cuban nation, which is very complex in racial structure, does not have any racial problems to speak of. The equality of all citizens was affirmed in Cuba as an important gain of socialism.

Experience has also shown that disregard of the Leninist principles of national policy or betrayal of international obligations and transition to nationalistic positions can cause enormous damage to socialism, to the interests of national development and consolidation of the unity of nations. Such are the consequences of the policy of great-power chauvinism now being practiced by the Maoists in China where over fifty nations in addition to the Chinese are living—the Chuans, Uigurs, Tibetans, Mongols and others, totaling about 45 millions: they, together with the Chinese majority, inhabit nearly 60 per cent of the country's territory. A great power policy of discrimination, repression, compulsory assimilation is being conducted

against these nations. Ignoring the will and rights of the small nations, the Peking rulers are striving to Sinitify them and this, in practice, means persecution of local cadres, suppression of national languages, disdain of the people's national feelings.

Experience has shown that unity of international and national is not automatically established, that it is the outcome only of the consistently Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It would be erroneous to regard certain negative trends which sometimes emerge in the socialist world as confirmation of the bourgeois thesis of the allegedly unavoidable (while nations exist) antagonism between national and international. "Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism," the Document of the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties states. "When divergences between socialist countries do arise, owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal cooperation."

Implications for National Liberation Movements

THE APPEARANCE of socialism also marks the emergence of the era of emancipation of oppressed nations. The October Revolution has indicated to the whole world, primarily to peoples of all dependent and colonial countries, which at that time comprised over half of mankind, the correct path for solving the national question.

Lenin put forward and substantiated the idea of uniting the revolutionary struggle of the working class with the struggle for liquidation of national oppression, the struggle for socialism—with the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the enslaved peoples. In the first years of its existence, the Soviet state, even in conditions of grim war against the interventionists and White Guards, rendered many peoples of the East moral, political and material support. It stretched a hand of fraternal assistance, for example, to the peoples of Mongolia, Afghanistan, Turkey, who were then defending their freedom and independence.

The victory of the Soviet Union and all freedom-loving nations over the forces of the fascist bloc in World War II, together with the formation of the world socialist system, has led to a further mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement throughout the world. Imperialism's colonial system has collapsed. The nations of

the developing states are manifesting lively interest in the experience of constructing a new life in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The transition to socialism, bypassing capitalism, tested in the experience primarily of the Soviet republics of Central Asia and of the Mongolian People's Republic, is of special significance for them.

During the construction of socialism in the USSR many formerly oppressed nations acquired their own statehood, put an end to their past economic and cultural backwardness, adopted socialist forms of economy and culture. "This achievement was all the more remarkable," state the theses of the CPSU Central Committee on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "in view of the fact that many nations which, when the Revolution was accomplished, had been at the stage of feudalism or even the patriarchal-clan system, bypassed capitalism in their progress towards socialism." In the USSR this possibility became a reality due to the all-round fraternal assistance to the formerly backward nations by the working people of the more developed republics, regions and, primarily, by the Russian working people.

It is exceptionally important for the developing states to strengthen their unity with the socialist countries. The CPSU and the Soviet people are rendering enormous assistance to the liberated countries in building up their new economies and culture. Construction of big industrial enterprises, educational and medical institutions, assistance in cadres, and so on—all this promotes the consolidation of the state-owned sector in the young republics' economies and strengthens their independence.

Firm reliance by the world national liberation movement on the world socialist system extends that movement's possibilities. The Report of the CPSU General Committee to the 24th Party Congress stresses that this struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practical terms begun to grow into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist. Some countries of Asia and Africa (for example, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic, Burma, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Somali Democratic Republic and others) have taken the non-capitalist way of development, the path of building up a socialist society in the long run.

The progressive forces of the Asian, African and Latin American countries realize that by remaining within the world capitalist economic system they would doom their peoples to the hunger, poverty and ruin inevitable under capitalism. It has been estimated that

under capitalist conditions it would take centuries to attain the current level of the industrially developed bourgeois states. That is why they are turning their attention to the various republics of the Soviet Union which, in the course of a few decades, not only have eliminated their former economic backwardness, but also have made a leap to the summit of socialist progress unprecedented in history. The multinational Soviet people's gains in developing their national statehood, economy and culture, as well as their complete equality, fraternity and friendship with both big and small nations, all serve as the strongest argument in favor of socialism.

YANKA BRYL

My Native Byelorussia

*In the loving heart beats
Byelorus, Byelorus—no end, no bounds*

THROUGH WOODS, warm and sunny as in southern climes, and across the plains of Polesye, transformed by the efforts of our people into farmfields and meadows, but still abounding in marshlands, the somber Pripet flows grandly and serenely in the company of her daughters Goryn, Pina, Slovechna and Ubort. Pensive and solemn is the rustling of the ruddy pines, and with almost the power of ocean waves the lake waters in the north of our republic break upon the shores. Naroch, Snudy and Asveya—these mysterious names breathe a hoary antiquity.

"Byelorus, Byelorus—no end, no bounds": for a long time now this line has been coming back to me while traveling in a passing train, a car or plane, or aboard a river boat.

By day and by night we trod your trails and footpaths in the late war. The heart shudders at how drenched your soil is with the warm blood of your defenders, victims of the most heinous atrocities ever perpetrated in the history of mankind. One out of every four of our people suffered death at the hands of the Nazis. Above the Bug River rise the battle-ravaged fortress walls of Brest where a tiny

YANKA BRYL is a well-known Byelorussian writer, author of *The Birds and Their Nests*, *The Birch Tree Forest* and other novels and stories. His "The Soul is No Traveler," about his journey to India, appeared in *Soviet Literature*, April 1972.

garrison of Soviet fighting men held back for thirty days the mad onslaught of the fascist hordes.

All the cities were leveled, whole areas were turned into a vast desolation, into scorched earth zones—hundreds, many hundreds of our own Byelorussian Lidices and Oradours lay in ashes.

Today our cities have been reclaimed from the ashes and people will tell you that our Minsk, our Vitebsk, our Grodno and many other Byelorussian towns have grown more beautiful than they were before the war. Our villages have been rebuilt and most of them, too, are more comely than those consumed by flames in the days of war and occupation, often—oh painful memory! together with their inhabitants. But there are traces of the war which have not been erased, which cannot be erased or ever forgotten.

You will find a glade in the mushroom-filled Logoisk Woods not far from Minsk. The green grass there grows unmown and untrampled, grass that conceals the dead. The glade is indeed a grave, a great sacred common grave in the place where once stood Khatyn, a village the Nazis burned with all its inhabitants—all but one, a man who survived by a miracle, today a gray-haired old man with a scorching pain in his heart that neither freedom, sunshine nor time itself can assuage. He remembers the way a little boy, riddled with bullets but not yet dead, had crawled out from under a heap of corpses. The boy was the man's own grandson. A big monument stands there today—the Khatyn complex—known to millions of people around the world. Over the big green grave mound rise twenty-six chimney-like structures representing the number of burned cottages, concrete cranes of long-dead wells, an impressive memorial to the victims of fascism, with little bells playing their jagged, poignantly painful tune to remind the world of the fate of the little boy and of those others buried alive in the murderous flames.

I cannot think of another part of the world where fascism is so hated as on our war-ravaged soil where our gallant partisans fought. Nor can I think of another part of the world where peace and labor for peace is as passionately and ardently loved as on our soil.

It seems to me that I know rather well my land and my people. I have traveled through the length and breadth of my Byelorussia, sailed on her rivers and lakes, flown above her golden and green steppes. With a miner's lamp I descended into the Soligorsk pits with tunnels reminiscent of metro stations. I saw the first tractor proudly released from the Minsk tractor plant conveyor when the Byelorussian capital had not yet cleared away its war ruins. I witnessed the first plowing of this tractor on a newly organized West-Byelorussian col-

lective farm. In the shops and laboratories of the automobile works, the oil distilleries, the machine-building plants, the nitric mineral fertilizer and wool mills; on the fields, state and collective farms, on the city and rural building sites, I have feasted my eyes and ears on a great symphony of labor.

What the Byelorussian people have accomplished on their soil is sometimes called the Byelorussian miracle. It is indeed a miracle—a Soviet miracle. And this miracle has been wrought with the participation of all the peoples of our great common mother—our homeland, the Soviet Union, which this year is celebrating her golden jubilee.

FIDEL CASTRO

Premier of the Republic of Cuba

MANY THINGS have produced an impression on us in the Soviet Union, mainly its tremendous scientific and technical achievements, its big successes in the social sphere, the redevelopment of cities, and the considerable progress it has achieved in education and culture. But most of all we have been impressed by the fact that the Soviet people faithfully keep the best revolutionary traditions, the spirit of the October Revolution. We admire the Soviet man, a new man who is building a new society, a magnanimous man who has fraternal feelings for others and is free of selfishness inherent in the people living in capitalist society. Our direct contacts with Soviet people have allowed us to appreciate the wonderful qualities of a new man.

The existence of the Soviet Union, the selfless labor of its people, its heroic victory over fascism and its military and economic might which made possible the emergence, consolidation and defense of the socialist community, the changes in the alignment of forces in the world arena and a huge upsurge of the liberation movement in the whole world—these were the necessary prerequisites for the Cuban revolution.

In the invincible force of international solidarity, based on close fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist camp; in the firm and unswerving implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism; in the liquidation of all forms of exploitation of man by man; in the firm and resolute anti-imperialist position—in all this Cuba found moral and material strength for victory in the political and ideological fields, in its struggle against economic blockade, against the subversive and aggressive actions of American imperialism.

From speech in Moscow, July 1972.

YOUSSEF-EL-SEBAI

Secretary General, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization

THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' Solidarity Organization is planning to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the USSR as a significant date in the history of mankind. The inviolable friendship of the Soviet peoples is a great gain of socialism.

BORIS TOPORNIN

Lenin: Founder Of the Soviet Multinational State

THE CONTRIBUTION OF V. I. Lenin to the theory and practice of the socialist state is best viewed against the backdrop of current achievements in the relations among the Soviet nationalities. It was Lenin who formulated the basic principles of the national question; indicated the road toward the solution of national problems under conditions of workers' and peasants' power; and explained the dialectics of the relationship between the general interests of the working people and their specific national interests.

Creatively developing the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in a new historical situation, Lenin created a harmonious, unified doctrine on the national question. Its basis is the view that the national question is a component part of the question of proletarian revolution, subordinated to the class struggle. Full solution of the problem of national antagonisms is possible only with the elimination of class antagonisms, i.e., with the victory of the working class.

The October Revolution created the prerequisites for solution of the national question. With the coming of workers' state power, Lenin laid down the principles of socialist democracy, defined its international character, identified economic and other factors influencing the relations among nations, and explained the leading role of the working-class party in developing these relations. He worked out the forms of national-state relations in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction, and the policy of the party and the Soviet state on the national question.

These new principles of national relations, fully opposed to those existing in the antagonistic bourgeois world, were proclaimed as the foundation of state policy in the very first documents of Soviet power. Even posing the historic task of implementing the equality of nations—not to speak of realizing it—proved to be beyond the power of the bourgeoisie, though at one time, advancing towards power,

BORIS TOPORNIN, a Doctor of Law, heads a department studying the "political organization of society of foreign socialist countries" at the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

it had talked loudly about the equality of nations. Even today the ruling circles of capitalist countries exploit this slogan for their own selfish ends. The regimes of apartheid and racism, and the bloody events in Northern Ireland, are but a few examples showing the true worth of this demagogy.

The founders of scientific socialism knew that liquidation of the exploitative system was a necessary condition for implementing the full equality of nations. It is only under socialism that a more developed nation, casting aside all selfishness, helps a less developed nation, sincerely and fraternally, to reach the level of the advanced. This aspect of the superiority of socialism over other social systems is a matter of record, both within the USSR and within the world socialist system.

The free self-determination of the nations and nationalities of former tsarist Russia, and their newly acquired statehood, enhanced the international unity of the working class and of all working people. The experience of the first years of the October Revolution strongly indicated the need for all the republics to pool their efforts in order to achieve their common aims. The struggle conducted by Lenin, and by the Communist Party as a whole, against bourgeois nationalist ideology of all hues—whether great-power chauvinism or local nationalism, national self-conceit or national nihilism, anti-Semitism or Zionism—played a large role in creating this international unity.

While opposing great-Russian chauvinism, Lenin also stressed the need to combat narrow-minded petty nationalism, isolation and seclusion, and to take account of the whole and the universal, of the subordination of particular to general interests.

Lenin's national policy was instrumental in building mutual trust among the nations and nationalities of Russia, and in calling forth their revolutionary initiative in the building of socialism. The substance of that policy, as put forward by the party, is embodied in these principles: the full equality of nations; self-determination of nations; international alliance and fusion of the workers of all nations. In defending the right of nations to self-determination, the Marxist-Leninists of the oppressing nation must put the stress on the self-determination of nations, and those of the oppressed nations must emphasize the voluntary uniting of nations. This approach, implementing Marxist theory, corresponds to the interests of the working people, reflecting the conditions that arose as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. The entire subsequent course of events in the young Soviet Republic and beyond its borders confirms

the deep perspicacity and historical legitimacy of putting the question the way V. I. Lenin did.

THE DEEPENING of the socialist revolutionary process led to the proclamation of Soviet power in the Ukraine (December 25, 1917), in Byelorussia (January 1, 1919), in Azerbaidzhan (April 28, 1920), in Bokhara (October 8, 1920), in Armenia (November 29, 1920), and in Georgia (February 25, 1921). Soviet power was subsequently established everywhere in Central Asia. Inter-state relations based on proletarian internationalism were formed between the newly-created Soviet republics, including the Russian Federation. Their experience played a big role in the molding of today's relations between fraternal socialist countries.

The juridical basis for the relations between the Soviet republics was at first the allied military and economic agreements between Soviet Russia and the other republics. These were historic documents of proletarian internationalism. They envisaged setting up united military organizations and military command, and equally defined economic bodies. Joint diplomatic missions abroad were formed.

The government of the Russian Federation rendered the other republics broad-scale assistance, including material aid, which was of great importance for the strengthening of people's power everywhere. As early as 1918, negotiations took place between the Russian Federation and some of the republics, in particular the Ukraine, about federative relations, but in that period military action and the temporary loss of certain territories hampered the completion of the talks.

The course of historical development made the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a vital need. Without this union it would have been impossible to restore the productive forces ruined by the civil wars and imperialist intervention, to create a single planned socialist economy, to ensure rational and effective use of natural and labor resources, a steady rise in the people's welfare and the revolution in the sphere of culture. Without a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics it would have been inconceivable to defend the independence of the Soviet republics, or to ensure a firm defense potential against imperialist aggression and a worthy place in international relations.

The transition to a unified state was determined by the very substance of Soviet power, by the laws of the political, economic and ideological life of a socialist society. In Lenin's words: "We want as vast a state, as close an alliance of the greatest possible number of nations who are neighbors of the Great Russians; we desire this in

the interests of democracy and socialism, to attract into the struggle of the proletariat the greatest possible number of working people of different nations. We desire *proletarian revolutionary unity, unification*, and not secession. . . . We want *free unification*; that is why we must recognize the right to secede (without freedom to secede, unification cannot be called free)."

At the end of 1922, the Seventh All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, the Fourth All-Byelorussian Congress of Soviets, the First Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets and the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets recognized the need for the formation of the USSR. The historic decision of the First All-Union Congress of Soviets on setting up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted on December 30, 1922 is justly considered one of the models of socialist democracy in action, and closely followed Lenin's concepts in this regard. Lenin had written, for example, in November 1921 concerning a proposed federation of the Transcaucasian republics: "The question of the federation should be discussed more widely by the party and the *masses of workers and peasants*, and energetic propaganda should be carried out for the federation at all congresses of Soviets of each republic . . ."

The principle of democratic centralism served as the basis for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It implies, on the one hand, centralization in defining and implementing an all-state policy in the main, decisive aspects and, on the other, broad independence and initiative of the union republics in the solution of their own affairs, in the selection of the means to achieve common goals.

When the USSR was established a socialist type of federation, based on democratic centralism was already in existence: the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). A Soviet federation excludes completely any coercion of one nation over another, and ensures favorable conditions for fraternal cooperation, for eliminating national strife, implementing authority in the center and in the local areas with the broadest, real democracy for the nationalities.

The USSR today, with the Communist Party as its leading force, conducts a policy of all-round development of each of the fraternal republics. As part of this policy, nations and nationalities gradually draw closer to one another, continuing a trend begun in the early days of Soviet power. At the same time, specific national features are carefully taken into account, and the development of the socialist national cultures promoted. As a result of this process, a new community of people—the Soviet people—has arisen and taken shape.

Today the USSR is no longer the only socialist state. With the appearance and development of the world socialist system, a new community of states and peoples uniting the fraternal socialist countries is emerging, opposed to the world capitalist system with its national oppression and racial discrimination. At the same time, other peoples are fighting for social and national liberation. Of greatest importance for these developments is the Soviet experience of the revolutionary transformation of the basis of social life, the building by the joint efforts of the Soviet peoples of a developed socialist society, and the solution of the national question, which is of the greatest difficulty and simultaneously of the greatest importance. And the guiding principles of this socialist national policy, even today, find their fullest expression in the teachings of the founder of the Soviet multinational state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

MARA GREEAZANIE

Love of Country

Always, on awakening, I look
at the map of lands without end:
It's on the wall, in front of me,
like the bird of my daring fancy,
spreading its eternal wings
over the eternal, gray ocean . . .
And it seems that I myself
fly high over the planet
in mists pierced by the sun . . .
I see how brightly my country
blazes—the red heart,
the all-powerful heart of the land.
Fifteen Soviet Republics—
arteries of the living heart—
pulsate in the sunshine,
shimmering in the vivid colors,
like a rainbow of the opulent summer,
when fruit-bearing thunderstorms
fly over the Russian fields . . .
Here's Latvia's amber reflection . . .

MARA GREEAZANIE is a Latvian woman poet.

*Here's Moldavia's green spot,
 And here, a golden expanse,
 where the waves of wheat march
 over the ancient steppe of Kazakhstan . . .
 My love, joy, Motherland,
 Your outlines look like
 a banner, caught up by the wind,
 triumphant, angry, unfurled,
 like the banner they proudly
 raised in the final struggle—
 in the last decisive fight—
 the heroes of the land—Communists—
 in tight, formidable leather jackets,
 in open naval pea jackets
 in clipped-off students' coats,
 in great coats fashioned by war
 My fate, Mother, Sovereign State,
 Heart of the hot planet,
 You illumine spaces of the Universe,
 like an unfailing beacon,
 like a victorious torch of reason,
 like the heart of the brave Danko
 leading us up
 toward the heights of the sparkling sun.*

Translated by MATTHEW KAHAN,
 with the editorial assistance of
 NAN BRAYMER

YAN SUDRABKALI

Maples in Bloom

*Latvia, you are beautiful when the maples bloom,
 Your streams laugh and burble with leaves,
 And maple buds drift over the land.
 The plowman with uncovered head,
 Hands full of moist, loamy soil,
 Sifts the earth through his fingers and says,
 "We'll reap the harvest, the people's happiness will grow
 Out of the furrows left by my plow."*

YAN SUDRABKALI is a People's Poet of the Latvian SSR and winner of a State Prize of the USSR.

*The maple flowers fall silently
 When the breezes of spring flow,
 And waves of invisible armies pass.
 Where are their graves? No one knows.
 What traces remain are strewn with flowers.
 And without knowing where my dear ones lie,
 Death does not part them from me.*

*Let their love burn deeply within us,
 A source of powerful creative strength!
 Let it harshly reproach those who have forgotten:
 "What have you done to conserve this power
 That is a deathless monument to the sacred graves,
 And, like the sun, will shine forever
 On the bloodstained fields?"
 The crimson haze, the days of suffering pass,
 Presaging days of joy for the people.
 The eagle of our dreams flies into the future,
 We ourselves create the living strength by our labor,
 The flower, like the maple's, of our young motherland.
 Let branches of peace foretell the joyous destiny,
 Bow deeply when they meet you.
 Latvia, you are beautiful when the maples bloom.*

Translated by MATTHEW KAHAN,
 with the editorial assistance of
 NAN BRAYMER

JAIME GAZMURI

Acting General Secretary, United Popular Action Movement, Chile

AFTER the Second World War the Soviet Union played a decisive part in the formation and development of the socialist community. Soviet foreign policy helped forward the consolidation of progressive forces throughout the world.

The national liberation movement has also been supported by the Soviet Union. Soviet assistance to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people combines these two aspects. It is assistance in the building of socialism and in the struggle against imperialism, for national liberation. There is no doubt that the search for a peaceful solution of vexing problems, especially the abolition of military pacts in Europe and establishment of a collective security system at the forthcoming European conference, will help to promote universal peace.

JOSEPH BRAGINSKY

Talking with Americans About Soviet Jews

I AM CLOSE to 70. The position of Jews in tsarist Russia and in the Soviet Union is an integral part of my autobiography. I not only observed the situation; I also suffered through it. To begin with, there are the recollections of my childhood. I was nine years old, the youngest in the family. My mother wanted at least one of her children to go to a gymnasium, in my case, the First Baku Men's Classic Gymnasium named after Emperor Alexander III.

According to the laws of the Russian Empire, as a Jew, I had to overcome three obstacles to get into a gymnasium: I had to 1) be in that quota of Jews allowed to take the exams; 2) get the highest marks in the entrance exams; 3) get a lucky "ticket" when those who passed drew lots.

With luck, I made it over all three hurdles and saw my name on the alphabetical list of those accepted for the first grade. I happened to be near the top of the list because my name starts with "B." Dressed in a new gymnasium uniform, buttons polished, an emblem on my hat, a shiny buckle on my belt, I set off on September 1 for the gymnasium. I was all smiles. But I was not allowed in the class. My name was not on the list, they said. Another name, "Itskovich," was on a piece of paper pasted over my name, obviously out of alphabetical order.

Later I found out what had happened. A Jewish businessman named Itskovich came to Baku in search of work and good fortune. He bought some land with money he had acquired by unknown means in hopes of striking oil. A fountain gushed forth and Itskovich joined the ranks of the nouveau riche; later he became a real millionaire. It turned out that his son also took the examinations when I did and failed miserably. But his mother went to the office of the gymnasium's director, an inveterate anti-Semite, and crawling on her knees from

JOSEPH BRAGINSKY, holder of a Doctorate in Philology, is an Honored Worker in Science, a Corresponding Member of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *The Peoples of Asia and Africa*, and Vice-President of the USSR-Iran Friendship Society.

the door to his armchair, placed in his hands a good, solid sum of money. I have already told you the outcome. This was my first big, bitter lesson in life, a lesson on the status of Jews in tsarist Russia.

Yes, indeed, anti-Semitism reigned in tsarist Russia. There was a whole system of measures intended to deprive Jews of their rights, humiliate them, destroy their human dignity, sow hostility and hatred toward them. When mass indignation developed, the Jews were made the scapegoats, pogroms were organized. It goes without saying that it was mostly the poor Jews who suffered from this anti-Semitism, not the rich, not the millionaires, not the Itskoviches. This entire system was meant to depress the social and economic status of the Jews. They were forbidden to reside in most of the provinces of the Russian Empire; they were hampered in every way from making a living by farming and were forced into the Jewish Pale, into which, as Sholom Aleichem wrote, they "were shoved and pressed like herring in a barrel." This led to the distorted occupational pattern of the Jews in tsarist Russia: only 45.6 per cent of them were actually involved in production (workers in large plants, 4 per cent; in domestic crafts, 11 per cent; petty craftsmen, 18.4 per cent; peasants, 2.2 per cent; office workers, 10 per cent). Merchants, small businessmen and people without occupations made up the other 54.4 per cent. Even if we allow for the several per cent of the 54.4 who came from secure, rich families, the fact is that a considerable part of the 45.6 per cent involved in production, especially the craftsmen, were never certain of the next day, of the possibility of making a living—of *parnos*. More than half the Jewish population of tsarist Russia were *luftmentschen* (people who had no visible means of livelihood).

This example from my childhood is a small but typical enough illustration of how anti-Semitism in tsarist Russia not only persecuted and annihilated the Jews, but also withered the very soul, trampled in the dust that most precious thing—human dignity.

I could cite many examples from the life of Jews in the Soviet Union after the Revolution, examples both positive and negative, but nothing is proven by separate facts and examples. That is why I would like to turn to facts that give you the overall picture.

There is no need to stress that from its very inception Soviet power saved the Jews from the bloody pogroms inflicted on the Jewish masses by the old forces overthrown by the Revolution. The age-old plague of the working Jews, the pogroms, vanished for all.

"But," the American reader will point out, "in other civilized countries there haven't been Jewish pogroms for a long time." While this is true, I would also like to emphasize that in the USSR *all* anti-

Semitic propaganda in the press or on radio is prohibited and anti-Semitic organizations are outlawed. All coercive anti-Semitic excesses, which in some civilized countries have not been ruled out and have not vanished at all, have completely disappeared in the Soviet Union.

"Wait a minute," some Americans may object, "how about Trophim Kichko's book *Judaism Without Embellishment?* And Shevtsov's stories?" True, Kichko's and Shevtsov's works did contain some formulations, illustrations and episodes that could be interpreted as disrespectful and even insulting. But the very fate of these feeble works proves better than anything else that national intolerance in any form is not permitted in the Soviet Union. Kichko and Shevtsov's books were condemned by the public, party and state bodies and long ago banished from bookstores and libraries. They're long forgotten in our country, but some Americans keep bringing them up, though they themselves can find in their nearest bookstore a whole pile of anti-Semitic literature, from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* to the richly illustrated autobiography of the late fuehrer of the American Nazis, George Lincoln Rockwell.

From a discussion of what does not and cannot exist in the Soviet Union, I want to move on to the positive aspect: What does exist, for Jews, in the Soviet Union today?

Do you know what is for me, an old Jew, one of the biggest joys in life? Knowing that in the Soviet Union the Jew is at last a real human being. Do you grasp that? The Jew is accepted as a human being just like all Soviet people—*azoi vi ale laitrn* (no better and no worse, like everybody else), and not only *de jure* but also *de facto*. The old dream of progressive people has come true—drawing Jewish labor into the creation of material values. In our country 100 per cent of the Jewish population is provided with work and a livelihood—*parnosu*—in all the different branches of the economy: in industry, construction, transport, agriculture and the state trade network. Depending on abilities and qualifications (and that alone!), Soviet Jews are either laborers or managerial personnel in all fields of engineering and science; they work at such "traditional" professions as medicine and, for them, at such "untraditional" occupations as engineering, construction, mining and metallurgy. Some earn more, some less, like all Soviet people—but we have no poverty, no *luftmentschen!*

It is with this main, decisive result that I start the substance of my reply. This result had its beginning in the national policy of Soviet power, the recognition of the absolute equality of all the 130-odd large and small nationalities living in the Soviet Union, regardless of their numerical strength. This policy recognizes the right of all

nationalities to self-determination. The policy was elaborated by Lenin and is irreversible.

The essential feature of the Soviet national policy is that the rights proclaimed are not only juridically insured; they are also actually implemented, with the historical background of each nationality taken into account. It is not merely a statement of general principles prohibiting the stirring up of national discord; on Lenin's urging, the decree of 1919 declared that discrimination against any nationality was impermissible. It made a special note that anti-Semitism was incompatible with socialism and called on "the working peoples of socialist Russia to combat this evil by every means." Lenin personally added in his own hand: "The Council of People's Commissars orders all Soviets of Deputies to take decisive measures to eradicate the anti-Semitic movement. Organizers of and participants in pogroms and those conducting agitation for pogroms are to be outlawed."

Applying Lenin's insistence on factually equal rights for all peoples, the Soviet Government, by a decree of May 7, 1934, established the Jewish Autonomous Region, with its capital at Birobidzhan. It has grown into a flourishing industrial and agrarian territory, with an area larger than Belgium. The creation of the autonomous region opened the road for Jews to self-determination. They could move at will to the Jewish Autonomous Region or continue to reside in any area of our boundless homeland whatsoever. A small section of the Jewish population chose the Jewish Autonomous Region; most, however, remained in the cities.

Since the Jewish population, I repeat, voluntarily chose the second road, there was the large and complex problem of drawing Jewish labor into production. As a result of the great attention devoted to this question and a whole series of measures, this task has been realized: The Jews have become the same as all Soviet people and thereby the age-old "Jewish question" as it formerly existed has become nonexistent in our country.

I was fortunate enough to observe this process not only in the case of my relatives in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, but also in many other families. The poverty-stricken *shtetl* (small town) people and their children were transformed into skilled industrial workers, engineers, actors and professors.

One article is not enough to sum up the changes. I would like to touch on only one aspect—*koved* (esteem), the respectful attitude toward Jews, as to any nationality in the country. Its absence in tsarist Russia was no less painful to Jews than economic and legal

discrimination: "My God, aren't we human beings? Why this hostility and contempt?"

There is no more of that in the Soviet Union! Men of science everywhere enjoy esteem, isn't that true? Well, according to data of the USSR Central Statistical Board, in 1969 there were 63,661 scientific workers of Jewish nationality in our country. Jews are in third place after Russians and Ukrainians, though in numerical strength they occupy 11th place, making up less than 1 per cent of the country's total population. Now would you say that the road to science is closed to Jews? This was made possible because under Soviet conditions 14 per cent of the Jewish population (more than 300,000) has received a higher education, a percentage nine times higher than among the Russians and 12 times higher than among the Ukrainians. In 1970-71, percentages of students enrolled in higher educational institutions were as follows: Russians, 2.1; Ukrainians, 1.5; Byelorussians, 1.5; Uzbeks, 1.9; Armenians, 2.2; Latvians, 1.5; and Jews, 4.8.

The roster of Lenin Prize laureates, the highest award in our country for scientific and artistic achievement, shows that out of a total of 844, 564 are Russians, 184 come from various other nationalities, and 96, or 12 per cent of the total, are Jews—that is 12 times more than the percentage of Jews in the population.

And what conclusions do you draw from the fact that many streets in Soviet cities are named after Jews: Nakhimson in Yaroslavl; Yakov Shenkman, a hero of the Civil War, in Sverdlovsk; and many others.

Since Jews are like all other people, of course, there are also scoundrels, swindlers and lawbreakers among them. And when such a lawbreaker is caught and brought before the courts, our enemies abroad cry that he is being punished not because he is guilty, but because he is a Jew! The absurdity and shamefulness of this trick is obvious to all sober-minded people.

As for Jewish culture, there is the Yiddish magazine *Sovetish Heimland* and numerous translations and original works of Jewish writers. Much has already been written about that; in the last ten years, for instance, 320 books by Jewish writers were published in a total edition of 41 million copies. Therefore I will limit myself to several examples that are related to my own work in literature. Each of the 200 volumes of the *World Literature Library*, which is published in a huge edition of 300,000 (approximately 10 to 15 volumes a year), is devoted to writers of world stature—Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine, Pushkin, Tolstoy, etc. One of the first in this series was a volume of Sholom Aleichem's work. My Russian friend Professor Igor Diakonov and I are currently preparing new translations

of the Bible, among others the Book of Ruth, in my translation, and Ecclesiastes, in Diakonov's translation, for the next volume of the series *Literature of the Ancient East*. A large book, *Jewish Folklore*, in Russian translation is being prepared for press by the publishing house of the USSR Academy of Sciences (the compiler was the late S. Raize; I am the editor). The work of Russian poets and those of other Soviet nationalities are published in very large editions in the *Poets' Library* founded by Maxim Gorky. Not so long ago a volume of verse of the late Perets Markish, a Jewish poet, came off the press. This is especially significant since Markish died in the early fifties, when laws protecting national minorities were violated in our country. I wish to remind you that the multinational Soviet people themselves, led by the Communist Party, openly condemned the flagrant distortions of Lenin's policy in our country and corrected them. These were our own difficulties, and we ourselves coped with them and continue to move ahead in keeping with Lenin's behests. The publication of the poetry of Markish is one of the many examples that such distortions have been corrected.

Soviet Jews en masse are deeply aware of what Soviet power brought them and what the building of socialism in our country gave them. They demonstrated their gratitude to their native land and their patriotism in the severe trials and tribulations of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War against German fascism. Again I will give an example from my personal life. There were four men of my generation who were most closely related; my older brother David, my brother-in-law Friedl (brother of my wife), my brother-in-law Abush (husband of my sister) and I, Joseph. My brother died in the Civil War in 1918, shot by whiteguard bandits in the Ukraine during the well-known Trepolie tragedy. His name has been engraved on the Obelisk of Glory towering over the Dnieper. My wife's brother, a company commander in the Soviet Army, died in 1944 fighting for the liberation of Vitebsk. My sister's husband died in 1941 in the Battle of Moscow, where he fought in the ranks of a people's detachment. Of the four, I am the only one still alive. Way back in my teens I took part in the last battles of the Civil War, in the thirties in the struggle against the Basmachi bands in Tadzhikistan, and in the years of the Great Patriotic War I served as a colonel on various fronts (for which I was awarded combat orders and medals). I cite that because it is so typical. To corroborate this I turn once more to statistics: 340,000 Jews were awarded state orders and medals for their labor accomplishments and for valor in the Great Patriotic War. Three out of every 20 Jews, including infants

and the old, wear government decorations; 117 Jews have been honored with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union (the highest military title) and 71 with the title of Hero of Socialist Labor (highest civilian title).

In light of the above figures and facts, can any other reply but a resounding "no" be given to the question posed by Americans: Is it true that anti-Semitism reigns in the Soviet Union as it did in old Russia? Ponder over that and answer the question yourself. And if you want to see for yourself, you are welcome to visit us!

But my sharp-minded American reader goes on to ask: "Didn't anti-Semitism leave deep roots in the history of Russian society? Certainly they must manifest themselves in our time."

I'll answer this question, too. The depth of the "roots of anti-Semitism" should not be exaggerated. Not to mention the decisive struggle against anti-Semitism waged in tsarist Russia by such great Russian people as Lenin and Gorky, it is well known that workers' detachments, of Russian and Ukrainian background, rebuffed the Black Hundreds way back in 1905! It is also well known that the best representatives of the Russian intelligentsia held the anti-Semites in contempt and came out in defense of the honor and human dignity of Jews. This was most strikingly evident during the Beilis case, when all the very best and progressive people in Russia declared themselves strongly against this provocation of the Black Hundreds. So there is no need for exaggeration! Anti-Semitism left its traces only on the most backward strata of Russian society, on the deluded and ignorant. But the struggle against anti-Semitism, as you can see, has a tradition in the advanced section of Russian society.

Are there people in the Soviet Union who still have anti-Semitic prejudices? Do you think all kinds of reactionary leftovers in people's minds, all kinds of anti-social attitudes and prejudices, including xenophobia, could completely disappear, vanish in thin air, in the 50-odd years of Soviet power?

No, indeed, not everything in our life is one bright color; there are also shades, even in the relations of people of different nationalities. I have many grandchildren. I won't hide the fact that I am very happy that not only Jewish, but also Russian, Armenian and Ukrainian blood flows in the veins of my grandchildren. In this respect one of my closest friends, the very kind Aziz Sharif, an Azerbaidzhanian, has me beaten. Armenian blood flows in the veins of his children, and in the veins of his numerous grandchildren, as in my grandchildren, flows Russian and Ukrainian blood, and *in addition*, Estonian, Jewish and Greek blood! The explanation for

this is that Aziz was born ten years earlier than I. What I'm writing here—about friendship, the closest and most intimate kind, between people of the most different nationalities—is a very common thing in the Soviet Union, hence the widespread mixed marriages.

Unfortunately, different attitudes can still be met, even among Jews, sad as it may be. I hate to hear the kind of shameful prattling of some Jews about "*goyim*," a word which should have been buried with all other anti-Semitic, Judeophobic remarks. I know of individual bureaucrats of Jewish nationality who abused their official position by selecting their "own" Jewish relatives and acquaintances for their staff. In my long life I have come across a petty official with anti-Semitic leftovers who took advantage of his position to infringe on the rights of a person of Jewish nationality.

Our country is the only one in the world where anti-Semitism has been declared a crime. But just as there are still lawbreakers of various kinds—money-grabbers, bribe-takers and xenophobians (including Jews), there are also anti-Semites. Such violations of our laws and ethical standards are used to slander the Soviet Union. But the important thing is the irreconcilable attitude toward such violations by the country's leadership and by public opinion. Here is what I said about anti-Semites in an article I wrote on the class basis of Zionism:

Nothing does more to advance the influence of Zionism than anti-Semitism. Though outwardly they appear as antipodes—Judeophile and Judeophobic—they have much in common in their origin and their nature. Both replace the class approach to the Jewish question with the racist, recognizing the Jewish people as "exceptional": the Zionists in the sense of "superiority" and "the elect," and the anti-Semites in an entirely negative sense. Both are for moving the Jews from the countries they inhabit. And both express national chauvinist ideology and psychology. The anti-Semites are ready to declare all Jews to be Zionists, and the Zionists to label all non-Jews as anti-Semites.

This was published not long ago in *Pravda*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has a circulation of several million copies and expresses the policies of our country's leadership.

In conclusion, I would like to reply to another question that Americans I happen to meet pose: "What is the attitude of Soviet Jews to the appeal to emigrate to the state of Israel?" I believe I have the moral right to express the opinion of a considerable section of the Jews, since I meet many of them, scientific workers, when I lecture at plants and higher schools of learning. I have heart-to-heart talks with many Jews—professionals, skilled and unskilled work-

ers and students. I also know the feelings of Jewish war veterans. Finally, after my article appeared in *Pravda* I received hundreds of letters from people I did not know, most of them of Jewish nationality. All this permits me to feel like a sort of miniature "institute for the study of public opinion."

First of all, Soviet Jews, like all Soviet people, make a distinction between Israel's millions of working people and its government. I happen to be one of the first to enter liberated Kiev as an officer of the Soviet Army. I saw with my own eyes the horror of Babi Yar, where among the 70,000 murdered Jews lay my Kiev relatives. I know what motivated the hundreds of thousands of Jews in the countries of Europe, who lived through the tragedy of the annihilation of six million Jews by the Hitlerite Nazis, to leave for Israel. It was these hundreds of thousands who laid the real cornerstone of the state of Israel. I dealt with the attitude of the Soviet Government toward Israel in an article published in *Kommunist* (No. 9, 1970), the chief theoretical and political magazine of the Central Committee of the Communist Party:

When the decision was adopted in 1947 to set up a Jewish and Arab state, the world public hoped that Israel would take the road of peace and cooperation with its neighbors. Proceeding from that, the Soviet Union, true to the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, recognized the state of Israel. To a great extent the Zionists took advantage of the fact that the actions of the reactionary Arab rulers of those times, who were submissive to the will of the imperialists, prevented the Arab people from implementing their right to self-determination and statehood on the territory of Palestine. The vanguard of the Israeli working class, the world progressive public, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries believe that Israel can and should develop, not as a hotbed of war, but as a peaceful, democratic state maintaining good-neighborly relations with all countries of the Middle East.

It seems obvious enough that Israel can and should develop as a peaceful state. Moreover, it was the Soviet Government that convinced authoritative Arab leaders that relations with Israel should be settled not by military means, as the Arab extremists demanded, but by political, peaceful means, so that all states could live and develop in peace, within secure borders, without the seizure of alien territories.

We believe that a free national life for every people can be built only on the foundation of peace, democracy, socialism and, most important, the friendship of peoples, in this case Arab-Jewish friendship, which has such age-old historic traditions. To whom else can it be as clear as to working Jews, the victims of racism and genocide, how inhuman and morally impermissible it is to build one's happiness on the unhappiness of another people, in this case the Arab

working people, the Palestinians. Let us never forget the Aramaic saying: *Da'alakh sene lekhevrahk la ta'aved*—"What is hateful unto you do not do to your neighbor."

I happened to meet the old Jewish poet Avishaul of Israel at a conference of Asian and African writers. I was happy to learn that our views on this question completely coincided. I know that the same position is taken by many people in Israel, young and old.

As for the call of the newly-found patrons coming out in "defense of Soviet Jews" and offering us the chance "to save ourselves" in Israel, there can be only one reply to that: contempt for the anti-Soviet mission of these gentlemen. I will cite only one, a typical sample, of the many letters I received after my articles were published:

My father was a teacher of Yiddish, he went through a Soviet teachers' seminary. There were six children in the family. Two brothers were workers (a turner and a fitter), they attended a workers' college preparatory faculty (Rabfak) and then an institute, and now they are engineers in the defense industry. My sister graduated from a technical school, worked as an engineer in an auto plant, then went on to an institute; she is now also employed in the defense industry. Two sisters are office workers. I am an institute graduate, an economist in an auto plant. After finishing high school, my daughter took a job in the auto plant. During the war, she dropped her studies at an institute to volunteer for the army. After demobilization she finished college and then taught school, at first in Western Ukraine when it was liberated from the Germans, and now in Kharkov. She lives with her aunt, a former worker in a Kharkov clothing factory, who has been a member of the Communist Party from prerevolutionary times and fought in the Civil War on many fronts. That is the "family album" of our Jewish family. Now, tell me, what do we need Golda Meir and her "paradise" for?

This letter, not intended for the press but addressed to me personally and agreeing with my article, was written by auto plant worker I. Ashavsky. I repeat, this letter gives a picture that is very typical of thousands upon thousands of Jewish families in the Soviet Union.

In the words of the great Soviet poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, we will never leave "the soil which I nursed with my hands." Together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union the Jews put their heart and soul into building a new life in their socialist homeland, overcoming and ready to overcome all the difficulties and the temporary setbacks on the unfathomed road to the new social system. Jews perished on the battlefields in the fight for their Motherland, and no Zionists and anti-Semites (birds of a feather, I would say) will shake the patriotic feeling of more than a small proportion of the Soviet Jews.

I know of course that some Jews are asking for permission

to go to Israel, and most of those to join their close relatives. As for those who apply to go to Israel for other reasons, they form a small minority of the Jewish population. Some of them lack understanding, not having given careful consideration to the question, and they deserve pity and explanation; some are shamefully ungrateful to their Soviet homeland, and they deserve only contempt. That is what most Soviet Jews think. The minority of them who labor under a delusion will realize their mistake in time, I am certain of that, and will not soil the dignity of man and citizen they acquired in the Soviet Union. The sooner, the better! As my mother used to say when she was alive: "Alevail" "So be it!"

EDUARDO MIEZELAITIS

My Land

Once again on the shore . . . my cap
crumpled in my hand.
I touch the water with a branch
covered with big buds . . .
On my shoulders a snowdrift of bird-cherry blooms
The fog over the river
Floats away toward the darkening
mouth of the ford.
The brass bell of the sun
has sunk into the water,
Not to be rolled out till morning . . .
The delicate stars,
Gold as barley, do not follow
the bell to the bottom.
The cooling air
repeats the water's ripples.
And the quiet grows as if
it were alive.
The night enfolds its beloved earth
into the coolness.
The lily-of-the-valley opens up
and from its leaves
The dewdrops fall
with a silvery tinkle . . .

EDUARDO MIEZELAITIS is a leading Lithuanian poet.

*How the little beetle scratches away,
how the flowers sigh,
How the sprouts shoot up—
in this, the beginning of a rustling grove.
How mysterious the languages of the leaves,
the hills . . .
How the water murmurs, reflecting blue
from the stars . . .
O, my land! . . . There is nothing more beautiful
than you, nothing more dear to me . . .
You give me everything, and your song
sings within me . . .
On the shore again . . . the stars
whisper about you.
In the gold of the Neman
in the stillness . . .*

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN from
the Russian of PAVEL V. PROTALIN,
with the editorial assistance of
NAN BRAYMER

JESUS SOTO AMESTI

*Senator, Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee,
National Congress of Venezuela*

I THINK that the state system set down in the Constitution of the USSR and based on the complete recognition of the rights of all nations and nationalities, has proved very important in the rapid progress of all Soviet peoples and their unification for the successful construction of socialism, in the course of which their inviolable friendship has been the most reliable support.

Soviet foreign policy substantially contributes to world peace. It has won for the Soviet Union profound respect in the world. The Soviet Union has demonstrated by its policy that it is possible to cooperate with the economically developing countries without imposing all kinds of terms on them, as is done by imperialist states.

YUMZHAGIYN TSEDENBAL

Chairman, Council of Ministers, Mongolian People's Republic

THE HISTORIC accomplishments of the Soviet people in communist construction are of great importance for world peace and security and for the destinies of the peoples on all continents. That is why all honest people are looking with hope, trust and sincere love at the USSR as a bastion of peace and socialism.

YURY BOREV

Esthetics and Culture: The National and the International

ONE OF socialism's most democratic and humane objectives is the awakening of historical initiative in the masses so that each person can help chart the future of his people and, in Lenin's words, "so that each nation can help decide the destiny of all mankind."

But the problem of the national and its relationship to the international* is now more urgent than ever on the esthetic as well as the political level. Problems of social life inevitably express themselves in esthetic terms, in literature and art. In fiction they are refracted through the prism of the author's personality, through the medium of his literary characters. In this form, as in other areas of literature and culture in general, the crucial problem of the national and the international, or universal, must be seen in the light of the dialectical interaction between the individual, the nation and mankind as a whole. In literary expression it involves the friendship and mutual cultural enrichment of the Soviet peoples and, eventually the interaction of the various national literatures, and Soviet literature as a whole, with world culture.

The theme of broad internationalism—the struggle for the interests of the most remote peoples and nations as well as the writer's own—permeates the whole of Soviet literature, and comes alive through dialectical unity with specific *national* and *personal* elements predicated on historical and class factors. This internationalism can be seen for example in Mikhail Svetlov's poem *Grenada*, whose hero left his home in order to fight and give the land of Grenada to the peasants; or in the moving and serious passion for the English language of Makar Nagulnov in Mikhail Sholokhov's *Virgin Soil Upturned*—

* The Russian word used here, counterposed to the word national, is *obshchechelovecheski*, which means literally "common to all mankind." Unfortunately we have no single English word that conveys that exact meaning.—Ed.

YURY BOREV is a research scholar at the Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow, a member of the Union of Writers and the Union of Cinematographers of the USSR, and the author of *Esthetics, On Comedy, On Tragedy, Fundamental Esthetic Categories* and other monographs.

just as it was expressed in the worldwide admiration for Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*.

THIS vital problem of the national and the international has been discussed at length from various aspects but not frequently enough in general esthetic terms as applied to literature. It is the purpose of this essay to discuss some of the more important esthetic considerations of this subject.

To begin by way of illustration: *Japan Sea in December*, a narrative by the Estonian writer Juhan Smuul, is about a cruise in the meteorological vessel *Voeikov*. The author describes the events, the work and leisure, the joys and sorrows of the expedition and its participants. But all the happenings of this distant voyage are linked by Smuul with his native Tallinn, with Estonian culture.

The following passage dealing with superstitions and ill omens is one example: "Sailors indeed fear Monday. I tried very hard to persuade the navigators and scientists that Monday, which is to be feared according to Russian naval tradition, is not so frightening as the Estonian Friday, which is *really* to be feared. And worst of all when Friday happens to be the 13th of the month!" One could cite many such examples, for every page of the book presents this expedition against the background of the folk wisdom and prejudices of Estonia.

The national element in Smuul's book thus manifests itself in a correlation of all the worldwide phenomena, of new experience in particular, with a historically-shaped national experience. The national experience itself and everything perceived through it is, in its turn, related to humanity, to its interests, experience and culture. It is not accidental, therefore, that in a narrative about an expedition of a Soviet meteorological vessel in the Japan Sea there is talk of Shakespeare, Heine, Chekhov, Einstein and others who are part of the universal heritage of all peoples. This brings us to an extremely important aspect of the problem of the national and the universal.

The dialectics of the national and the international is an integral part of the esthetic foundation of art. This problem has received practically no attention in world esthetics, although a universal and all-embracing art category like the beautiful is repeatedly emphasized. The artist sees the world according to the laws of beauty and his works give us esthetic pleasure. Beauty is an indispensable esthetic quality of any true work of art. A social conception of this category of beauty has been offered in a number of Soviet works on esthetics, which view beauty as a sphere of freedom, as the highest

human value, an object of the greatest significance to humanity in general. This theoretical approach provides the materialist key to understanding the universal human element in art and the materialist basis for judging what is transient or eternal in works of art.

A truly humanist artist who sees the world according to the laws of beauty and strives to communicate esthetic pleasure to the reader through his works, inevitably sees all the phenomena he considers in a universal context, and assesses them from the angle of their significance to all humanity. The human element lies in the very foundation of art, which however, contains not only universal but also a national element because the very concept of human value is predicated on history, classes and national specifics. The more original a national vision is, the greater and more unique becomes its general artistic value. But, at the same time, its significance to the reader rises to the degree that the original and specifically national blends with the general. This is one of the prime factors of the artistry of a work, making it capable of becoming a classic of worldwide significance. Particularly important here is the human content of national experience and problems. In major art specific problems of social development are raised to a universally significant level, and are resolved not only from the standpoint of a transient situation but also from the standpoint of the interests of all mankind, where they appear in the context of a particular historical, class and national experience.

For example, in *And Quiet Flows the Don*, Soviet author Mikhail Sholokhov lays bare the vacillations of a "middle peasant," Grigory Melekhov, during the Revolution. The riotous winds of history drive him now to the side of the insurgent people and now to the side of their enemies, and he pays a tragic price for his mistakes. The greatness and humanism of Sholokhov's novel are that the author is concerned with both history and the individual. Sholokhov shows the historical necessity and inevitability of the revolution, and condemns the historical blindness of Grigory, but not without compassion, portraying him as a tragic character, not as a mere individual personifying an abstract counter-revolutionary force that must be destroyed. The international dimension of this purely Russian novel, using purely Russian historical material from the life of the Cossacks on the frontier area of two epochs, consists in the fact that the problem itself (the middle, non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois strata in a revolutionary situation) and its artistic resolution (the tragedy of a betrayal of the people's cause) are today among the central elements of the world historical process.

The fullest, most exact definition of the national element as an

esthetic category was given in the 19th century by the great Russian author Nikolay Gogol, who wrote: "The truly national element consists not in a description of the *sarafan** but in the very spirit of the people. A poet can be national even when he describes an entirely alien world but looks at it with the eyes of his national element, with the eyes of his people, when he feels and speaks in such a manner that it seems to his compatriots that it is they themselves who are feeling and speaking." (From "A Little About Pushkin," 1832)

Regretfully, the international element in art lacks a similarly accurate theoretical definition as an esthetic category. We should keep in mind in this connection that many concepts appear to us in both their political and esthetic aspects. These are interrelated, but each has its own specific. For example, in social life the "party spirit" is a political concept, but in art it has to be expressed in esthetic terms.

A unique feature of the art of "socialist realism"† is that in it the class viewpoint fundamentally coincides with the viewpoint of all humanity, because ultimately the class interests of the proletariat are the same as those of all working people and, indeed, all mankind. As Vissarion Belinsky, the noted 19th century Russian literary critic and publicist, wrote: "In speaking of himself, of his ego, a great poet speaks of what is general, of humanity; for in his nature lies everything that constitutes the life of humanity. Therefore, in the poet's grief everyone recognizes his own grief, and in his heart everyone recognizes his own heart and sees him not only as a poet, but as a person, as a brother human being." (From "Poems by Lermontov")

The very structure of an artistic image, uniting as it does subjective and objective factors, requires combining national and inter-

* A Russian national peasant dress.

† "Socialist Realism" is typically stereotyped by many critics as inherently restrictive. Alexander Dementyev, Chief Editor of the Soviet *Literary Encyclopedia*, comments as follows on this central concept after sketching its origins in previous literature: "The main creative method of Soviet literature and literary criticism . . . the essence of which is a lifelike, historically concrete portrayal of reality in its revolutionary development. . . . Socialist realism does not hand out recipes to writers, nor does it lay down how many positive and how many negative heroes are to be put into any particular novel. . . . Moreover, it does not reject out of hand conventionalism, symbolism, the grotesque, hyperbole or other 'heightened' media of artistic expression. It only demands that a work of art should not be divorced from life, that it should give a true presentation of man's thoughts and feelings. The Rules of the Union of Soviet Writers stress that the purpose of socialist realism is to ensure the artist's exceptional scope for creative initiative, and a choice of various forms, styles and genres." Alexander Dementyev, "Mirror of Life," *Sputnik*, August 1972. (Editor's Note.)

national principles, because the artist's own personality is not only predicated on class, historical and national features, but also embodies a generally human content enabling everyone to see in the poet "a brother human being." But since art is always a quest, the artist does not merely reproduce life; he conveys his own world view as well as his national experience when depicting "reality."

The national historical and artistic experience of any country is unique because the laws of social development find expression in uniquely individual ways while recurring in the history of each people. At the same time, we recognize the existence of these immutable laws of social development. Their recurrence, in unique forms, constitutes the dialectics of the national and international, of the personal and universal, and is conveyed by the art of every people. It manifested itself in a unique way in the life of the peoples who, after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, accomplished a leap from the patriarchal-clan way of life to the civilization and culture of the 20th century. It is specifically this transition from the patriarchal system to socialism that is portrayed by the Kirghiz writer Chinghiz Aitmatov,* whose characters make this leap within one generation.

Most of Aitmatov's people embody something special of a clan nature, but nothing purely individual or personal, or purely universal and international. They live apart from the mainstream of history, people for whom clan traditions and customs are the only natural principles regulating social life. There are as yet no distinct personalities in the patriarchal world because people are not yet confronted with problems involving individual decisions or strictly personal responsibility. They are still subject to the strict rule of custom, and are not even aware that any other situation is possible. But what makes the life of Aitmatov's heroes noteworthy is that their destiny repeats the historical destiny of their people, who in turn are essentially part of a worldwide historical process. From a life ruled by custom they pass to the more complex, more difficult but richer life of the self-conscious personality.

Aitmatov's *The First Teacher*, for example, and the film based on it, traces the transition of the narrow clan system of relations to the broader modern world not only in the sphere of human feelings but in people's entire world outlook. This transition of the human heart and mind is exemplified in Dyushen, a young man who has returned from the Civil War. This semi-literate teacher fosters a transformation in his pupils' whole attitude toward their traditional village life, giving them a new modern outlook. By showing them that there are other

people besides those in the clan, other classes and mankind as a whole, he awakens their personalities. Time seemed to have stopped in the village, and only the present existed for its inhabitants. The first teacher, Dyushen, gave time three dimensions, dividing the present from the past, showing that the way people had lived formerly was no longer possible. From the very first lesson he had introduced the children to the idea of the future. These changes in human consciousness, the introduction of broad social categories such as world, classes, nations and future, create a personality integrated with history. A representative of a clan evolves into an individual accommodating a new relationship: personality-nation-mankind.

The international aspect is covered in the writer's conviction that the path taken by his heroes will also be taken if not today, then tomorrow, by the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, who are even now awakening to their own historical initiative.

The dialectic of the national and the international permeates not only the very idea, the themes and the problems of art, not only its content, but also its form. In art forms the dialectic of the national and the international manifests itself chiefly in the influence of the traditions of other peoples on the national art tradition, the influence of national artistic achievements and discoveries on mankind's perception of the world, the discovery of new artistic forms and methods of thought, and their gradual dissemination to the art of different nations.

FOR THE GREEKS the human figure was the measure of beauty. They discovered the law of the golden section; the 1:3 ratio of the human face—forehead—nose—chin—underlay the golden section. It would seem that here everything is a matter of anatomy. But in a human being everything is universal, social, reflecting the specifics of history and the experience of a nation. Even the anatomical structure embodies not only human but also ethnic and national features. Not every nation has facial proportions like those of the Greeks. The canons of beauty contain permanent historical and national elements as well.

Of course, the concept of the mere reciprocal influence and interaction of the art of different peoples, even in the essential but still extremely limited aspect of "wandering subjects," as propounded by the Russian comparativists, for example, cannot explain the entire significance of general human principles or the amazing coincidence of subjects, thoughts, forms and ideas in the art of different peoples. We find coincidences and interweavings of culture even in cases where there is no possibility of any influence, "wandering subjects" or

* See the review of Aitmatov's film *Jamilya* on page 62 of this issue.

even contact between nations. The Japanese, for example, have a moon-admiration festival. Three days before the full moon in mid-September, when a tiny chip just slightly deforms the harmony of a perfectly round moon, the Japanese leave their homes in the evening to admire this celestial body. Here the esthetic taste of a people is expressed and maintained through the inclusion of discord in harmony. In the town of Nikho, about which the Japanese say, "He who has not seen Nikho has not seen beauty," there are gates of the most perfect harmony and symmetry. However, to achieve the utmost beauty the harmony of this structure is broken by just a tiny fraction: one of the pillars is turned with its face inward.

It is noteworthy also that among many peoples, the highest sense of beauty is founded on the inclusion of discord in harmony. In the Parthenon, the greatest structure of the ancient Greeks, the colonnade does not resemble a palisade because in it there is a perfect harmony of discords: a close look at the well-proportioned colonnade will show that it consists of columns with a different section diameter, that each column has a different number of edges, the distance between the columns is different, and so on. This intrusion of discord into harmony, this creation of beauty by the inclusion of elements breaking its symmetry, rhythm and integrity, is characteristic of modern ways of thinking: it has been utilized, for example, by the Soviet composers Dimitri Shostakovich and Sergey Prokofiev.

Human beings cope with the same material world, a single, multi-form material environment governed by uniform laws. All peoples are surrounded by a single ocean of air and a single star-studded sky; a single sun shines in the heavens. Similarly uniform laws govern nature and society, uniform psychophysical, and gnosiological laws govern perception and thinking, and uniform historical laws of social production, social relations, social formations and the class struggle operate and manifest themselves in the life of different peoples. This is the foundation of the general similarities, intercrossings and amazing coincidences which we encounter in the culture and art of different peoples. At the same time, the different and unique historical, artistic and psychophysical experiences of different peoples cause general principles and laws to be refracted in a national, unique manner in the art of every nation and in the historical and class-based art of every artist. The general manifests itself with particular clarity in similarities, common features and in seemingly discrepant and incompatible phenomena of culture. Although this community of elements has its ultimate causes, namely the fact that the life of all nations is governed by the same laws of history, one can see four

distinct groups and fundamentally specific cases of such coincidence and similarities.

The first group consists of similar works, images and subjects relating to the same epoch and emerging independently of each other among different nations on account of the close similarity of their living conditions.

The second group includes those artistic works clearly influenced by those of other cultures, a process raised to the level of a universal law by the comparativist school of literary criticism, which holds that similar phenomena spring from the influence (for instance, "wandering subjects") of one national art on another. But Marxist dialectics has shown that of the inner and external stimuli of development, the former are decisive. External elements can only speed up or slow down a process determined by inner factors. Thus, the influence of one national culture on another can only propel and stimulate the evolution of definite artistic phenomena when the need for them has already appeared and matured in national life.

The third group is determined by the general dialectics of the law of spiral development; more specifically, it involves the influence of the past on the present of a cultural tradition. Such similarity of phenomena located at corresponding points on the "spiral" of the evolution of art is noted frequently in the history of world art. For instance, the features of ancient Greek art were repeated on a new foundation during the Renaissance, while some features of ancient Roman art were repeated in classical art; the rationalistic, educational dramaturgy of Gotthold Lessing is "repeated" in the intellectual, epic drama of Berthold Brecht, and so on.

The fourth group is the most complex and the least studied. It is determined by the realization of various cycles or spirals of the evolution of artistic culture. The Georgian scholar Shalva Nutsubidze has suggested a fruitful and convincing concept of the existence, in addition to the Western, of an Eastern Renaissance, which began earlier and was characterized by specific features. A departure from the narrow, Europe-centered scheme makes it necessary to consider the history and theory of art not only of the Western but also of the Eastern cycle of evolution. Scholars have found a broad regularity: the repetition of the spirals of artistic development. A study of not only European but also American, African, Asian and Oceanic art will make it possible to trace the parallel historical movement of the various branches of artistic civilization and awaken a quest for the general laws of these dissimilar but ultimately comparable processes. Today this challenge is increasingly attracting the attention of

scholars throughout the world, for example Thor Heyerdahl and the book by the Soviet scholar Nikolay Konrad, *East and West*. There are thus not one but several spirals of the common evolution of world art. Artistic phenomena in a definite point of one spiral may be comparable to those of an analogous point on another spiral. Moreover, the spirals themselves may be at different levels.

Analogous socioeconomic development and the existence of analogous socioeconomic systems through which the historical movement of different nations passes cannot help but give rise to analogous processes in fiction.

Each of the four types of recurrence of artistic phenomena produces its own form of the dialectical link between the national and international, historically specific elements inherent in the given period, and of general uniquely repetitive features in the artistic life of different peoples.

The dialectics of the national and the international permeates the entire artistic process. The fruits of the spiritual activity of individual nations become the property of all. On the other hand, general achievements are refracted through the national experience and are expressed and consolidated in a unique national form.

At the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, June 1969, the combination of national and international elements and interests was termed one of the most vital problems of modern times. It was agreed that any deviation from the Leninist principle of combining these elements, any deviation towards nationalism and chauvinism, or towards cosmopolitanism and national

DONDOGIYN TSEVEGMID

*President, Great People's Khural (Assembly),
Mongolian People's Republic*

THE SMALL AND BIG NATIONS and nationalities of the Soviet Union, having united into a friendly family, have achieved great strides in their development in a historically short time. I saw this for myself once again when I visited Azerbaidzhan as a member of a Mongolian parliamentary delegation. This progress has been achieved owing to the correct solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has always stretched a hand of friendship to the other peoples of the world. The working people of our country, who have been marching together with their elder brother for half a century, know this better than anybody else.

nihilism is fraught with serious consequences in politics, culture, art and esthetic theory.

The half-century experience of the social and cultural life of the peoples of the USSR is thus of world historic significance. One of the most valuable elements of this experience is that the problem of the general, international resonance of the finest achievements of national art of the Soviet peoples has been profoundly resolved in the art of socialist realism. Here the dialectics of the national and the international permeates the entire artistic process. The fruits of the spiritual activity of individual nations have become the property of all.

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

—And in the United States: A Commentary

YURY BOREV's article, "Art and Culture: National and International," has profound significance for the United States. We are a prisonhouse of nations, and culture is controlled as if from one center, New York City. But the trouble is not spatial. It is class. A pattern is forced on the arts of middle class tastes and troubles. There is no searching analysis of capitalism. American democracy is accepted as the best of all systems, almost as a product of nature, with no awareness of the self-centered violence that has poisoned it from the start. And it is this violence that has been faced by the many nations on the land of the United States. There is an unbroken thread under the change of style. There was the violence in tearing the land from the Indians, first pushing them West and then into reservations, with no interest either in their developing their ancient culture or bringing them into the mainline swing of life under capitalism. Slavery was a form of violence against the people dragged from Africa. It was followed after the Civil War by a form of violent oppression against the Black people which still today denies to them the full rights of citizenship. So it was with the Chicanos of the Southwest, seized from Mexico. The great waves of immigrants, welcomed to fill the

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN is a well-known Marxist writer on literature and art. Among his recent books are *Existentialism and Alienation in American Literature*, and *The Sense and Nonsense of Marshall McLuhan*.

need for labor on the railroads and in the fast-growing industry, were likewise greeted with racism and violence, a violence aimed at the freedom of labor. The United States has become the foremost home of racism.

The very opening of Borev's article, "One of socialism's most democratic and human objectives is the awakening of historical initiative in the masses so that each person can help chart the future of his people," points a way for the United States. It is a turn to the working people of the country, and encouragement of them to speak their own mind. Thus the true face of the United States will appear, and the foundations be laid for a truly national literature.

In the United States, the question raised by Yury Borev concerning "national" and "international," and the dialectic relation between the two, takes a new form. Whether the various minorities—who together make up a majority—can be considered "nations" or national groups is a political question, and will be settled politically. Esthetically they must contribute to the formation of an art of the United States nation, which is made up of many peoples. The most important minority is that of the Blacks. Numerically it amounts to one-tenth of the population, about twenty million. In music and poetry, as in the days of the spirituals a century and a half ago, it has taken from the art found among the whites on these shores and forged something new, proudly accepted as part of United States culture. So it is with jazz and other art forms. In the realm of "fine art," its struggles have been considerable, and can be examined for many long decades. The problem rests in encouraging formation of a Black audience for the arts, which will have an inspirational effect.

The more this people makes its achievements known against great odds, the more it encourages other national expression. The result will be a new United States culture, of a many-sided kind. It will make its effect internationally in a new and stimulating way. It will be a beautiful culture.

Borev speaks many times of beauty and the beautiful, and refers to it as a "human" element. This is a deep insight. For it is a humanization of nature, including people, turning the unknown into the known, the irrational into the understood, making the outside world an addition to human powers. Thus it continually plows ahead, entering new areas. The geniuses of each age take what is widely considered ugly, antihuman or inhuman, and turn it into something understood as part of human life, and therefore beautiful. So there are always walls to be broken down, new areas to enter. Beauty is something real and part of objective life, but it can be found only by

labor and the imagination. Art teaches the beautiful. Once its lessons are learned, it seems strange to people that they could have been so insensitive before, but that is part of the nature of art. So a new area of beauty is ahead for the United States people, and once it is achieved, they will wonder how in our time we could have been so insensitive, so inhuman.

IRAKLI ABASHIDZE

On Friendship and Kinship

PROBABLY no other event in my life, the life of a Georgian poet, so braced my sense of national pride in our culture as the celebrations of the 800th birth anniversary of Shota Rustaveli, author of our great national epic, *The Knight in the Tiger's Skin*. Envoys from all corners of the Soviet Union and foreign guests from forty countries gathered in Georgia on those days. The World Peace Council appealed to all countries of the West and East to pay tribute to this genius of the Georgian people.

However, a broader examination of that will take us beyond mere respect for the attainments of our national culture, beyond a mere professional evaluation of Rustaveli's poetry. For eight centuries Georgians have been listening to his clear-cut measured lines, now like an alarm bell, now like a tender lullaby. But only now has the whole world come to hear his powerful voice, only in our day has the depth of his philosophical thought, the rich prophetic significance of his humanism, become accessible to all.

The guiding principles of Soviet international culture have fulfilled the sage prophet's lines, like an epigraph to the fete: "The difference of tribes and countries impeded not their embrace."

"Shota Rustaveli's jubilee," *Pravda* wrote, "turned into a great festival of all the fraternal peoples of our country." And at the unveiling of a monument to the poet in Bolshaya Gruzinskaya Street,

IRAKLI ABASHIDZE, leading poet of Soviet Georgia, is well known not only as a fine poet, through numerous published works, but also as a prominent public figure. He has repeatedly been elected a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and was formerly Chairman of the Georgian Writers' Union. He is Editor-in-Chief of the Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia, and a member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. He has been awarded five Orders of the Soviet Union, including two Orders of Lenin (the highest Soviet award).

Moscow, Leonid Brezhnev said, "Rustaveli is a Georgian, but he belongs not only to Georgia. He belongs to all the peoples of our multinational homeland."

The theme of internationalism is deeply rooted in Georgian culture. Firm creative and vital ties have linked Georgia forever with the names of such Russian poets and writers as Pushkin, Lermontov, Griboyedov, Ostrovsky, Gorky, Balmont, Mayakovsky, Blok and Yessenin. This enabled Ilya Ehrenburg to say, "It's hard to imagine Russian poetry without the Caucasus."

These ties continued to deepen and broaden. The Soviet poet Nikolay Tikhonov became a true associate of Georgia's men of letters, Isaak Babel worked as a reporter with a Tbilisi newspaper, Pyotr Pavlenko called Georgia his second homeland. The great writer Konstantin Paustovsky was known as the discoverer of the Colchis. The Soviet director Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko, one of the founders of the Moscow Art Theater, began his artistic career in Tbilisi on the amateur stage. The master painter Yevgeni Lanser took a most active part in the establishment of the Georgian Academy of Fine Arts. The laying of the foundation of professional music education in Georgia is linked with the name of composer Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov.

Maxim Gorky, founder of Soviet literature, never forgot that he took his first steps as a writer in Georgia. At a plenary meeting of the Tbilisi City Soviet back in 1928, he summarized the efforts and aims of the Republic's first revolutionary transformations: "In these great days you are working for a great cause, and your work is of great importance not only for us but for the whole world. A new people has been born on the vast field, the vast space between Mount Ararat and Murmansk, between the East and Leningrad. That new people, that great force is you. Everything that is now being accomplished is being accomplished by you. Your goal is clear. The whole world is looking at you, listening to you, learning from you." Gorky was referring not only to economic achievements. He was speaking of the emergence of new social relations based on proletarian internationalism, which is so effectively promoted by culture and art.

We frequently use the words "mutual penetration," "mutual enrichment," forgetting that this is not a mechanical process and that the words were brought to life through concrete historical experience, based on the activities of many gifted people who gave all of their strength and talent to breathe life into this new quality, which is now second nature to us.

"... All of Georgia's beauty and diversity became part of my constant writer's wanderings, permeated my books and essays..." Many other writers would agree with Marietta Shaginyan in this. And on a deeper analysis of her words, we would discover the very close creative contacts that have linked many generations of cultural workers of the peoples of our multinational Land of Soviets.

We can never forget how composer Sergey Prokofiev, a usually restrained and modest man, ran up onto the stage in Tbilisi after the rendition of his Third Piano Concerto to embrace and kiss young conductor Yevgeny Mikeladze, whom composer Dmitri Shostakovich would eventually call "the pride of the Soviet conductors' school." We remember film director Nikolay Shengelay's joint work with Mikhail Sholokhov on the production "The Soil Upturned"; the Tbilisi debut of the outstanding Leningrad director Georgi Tovstonogov, who to this day maintains his creative friendship with the Georgian theater; the award of the Shota Rustaveli Prize, the republic's highest, to Ukrainian poet Mikola Bazhan and Russian poet Nikolay Tikhonov, symbolizing through their work the spiritual and fraternal kinship of Soviet peoples. It is quite impossible to list all the contacts, name all the friends of Georgian culture, or cite all the facts of constantly broadening creative ties. This summer, for example, the Tbilisi Opera Theater staged "Taras Bulba" by Lysenko, a classic of Ukrainian music, while Zakhari Paliashvili's "Absalom and Eteri" was produced by Ukrainians on the Kiev stage.

I can't resist the temptation of citing in this connection several examples of a personal nature. Like sacred tokens of friendship, I keep many letters sent to me, especially wartime letters from friends at the front. One of them was written on a letterhead of the Red Army newspaper *To Rout the Foe*, on which Mikhail Svetlov entrusted to me at a trying moment something very personal and dear to him. Or a letter from poet Ilya Selvinsky written to me from the front during World War II expressing his delight at becoming "intimately linked with the Georgians." And another letter: "We need two Georgian writers; if Chikovani and Mashashvili or Kaladze turned up it would be great. They'll first come to the newspaper, and from here go to the front lines. It would be perfect. But let them wear all the warm clothing they have. . ." What appraisal of my work could compare with the single deeply heartfelt line from a friend of mine, writer Viktor Shklovsky: "What you have written is written for all of us."

These friendly compliments, it seems to me, transcend any notions of personal egotism. Such feelings arise from the wise policy of inter-

nationalism governing today's Soviet spiritual life. As Viktor Shklovsky went on to say: "This is not even friendship. It's kinship!"

I began this piece by speaking of national pride. Our revived national self-awareness, certainly, has a right to pride. But we understand and understood that very national pride from the very outset of socialism on our ancient Georgian soil as it was spoken of in the Central Committee's report to the very first congress of Georgia's Communists: "We Communists understand national self-awareness not as a division of peoples but, above all, as the collaboration of working peoples on the basis of free relations."

And if today we are proud of our international gains, proud of the fact that representatives of Georgian culture, whether poets, musicians or dancers, are honorably representing the people's socialist culture in the world arena, it is first of all because of the great right given us to speak on behalf of the extraordinary community of nations called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

LIUDMILA TATYANICHEVA

The Winged Word of Our Peoples

WHEN speaking of the vocation of a writer or poet I always recall the following words of Rasul Gamzatov, the well-known poet of Daghestan:

"The Russian poets from Pushkin to Tvardovsky have presented to me Russia with all its history, destiny and heart; Shevchenko and Rilsky gave me the Ukraine with its joys and sorrows; Rustaveli and Leonidz gave me Georgia, with its courage and tenderness. . . . I have been lucky, indeed, for I, a highlander born in the remote village of Tsada, have been presented with a whole world of which my ancestors were deprived, and if before I used to say 'My Daghestan,' now I can say 'My Russia,' 'My Georgia' and even 'My planet.'"

This is a very apt statement. It is the vocation of all writers and poets to reveal the spiritual world and the beauty of the Soviet people, to awaken in them love for their Motherland and of being a united family of peoples.

LIUDMILA TATYANICHEVA, a well-known Soviet poet, spent her youth in the Urals, and many of her works are devoted to her native area. She is Secretary of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union.

Book and magazine publishing houses exist not only in Moscow and Leningrad, but in many other cities of the Russian Federation. Not long ago a new publishing house, *Sovremennik* ("Contemporary"), was founded by the RSFSR Writers' Union. Together with such old and acknowledged publishing houses as *Khudozhestvennaya Literatura* ("Fiction and Poetry"), *Sovetsky Pisatel* ("Soviet Writer") and *Sovetskaya Rossia* ("Soviet Russia"), it greatly contributes to the development and mutual enrichment of the national cultures of the peoples living in the Russian Federation. Along with the works of such famous Soviet Russian writers and poets as Mikhail Sholokhov, Konstantin Simonov, Leonid Leonov, Konstantin Fedin and Alexander Tvardovsky, for example, *Sovremennik* has put out *A Pagan Poem* by Yuvan Shestalov, a poet of the Mansi people, the works of Alim Keshokov, a Kabardinian, of Kaisin Kuliyeu, a Balkarian, Mustai Karim, a Bashkir, and many others.

In the course of five decades the many peoples of Russia have made a gigantic leap in both culture and economy, a leap which under a different social order could have been achieved only in the course of centuries.

The mutual enrichment and influence of the national cultures is particularly revealed in literature and in language as a means of its expression.

The literary language is a very complex and subtle phenomenon. And its creative mastery is one of the major tasks of every writer and poet. Only those who can cope successfully with it will penetrate into the depths of the native tongue and become real masters.

The word is often regarded as a neutral material like marble, paint or music, for instance. But the word is never neutral. Even in its initial state it carries in itself the age-old experience of a people, its life and esthetic ideas. The word serves the national essence of literature.

The part played by language in the mutual enrichment of brotherly literatures is of incalculable value. Its study promotes the mutual exchange of experience, acquainting each nation and people with the cultural achievements of all other peoples of the USSR, as well as with world culture. The knowledge of the Russian language, which is a means of inter-nation communication, has become a need for millions of Soviet people. In this connection I remember the wonderful words of Chinghiz Aitmatov, the famous Kirghiz writer and Lenin Prize winner:

"One can write in many languages. If I knew English, for instance, besides Kirghizian and Russian, I would be sure to write something

in English. And yet, as experience proves, one's native tongue is the soil on which a writer grows. And if the writer writes in several other languages after that, this will not affect anyone. I write both in Kirghizian and in Russian. These two languages are for me like two arms—the right and the left, and I cannot do without either of them."

The languages of all peoples develop organically in the Soviet Union. They become ever richer, brighter, more expressive and colorful.

Here I should like to say that I have never been a supporter of vulgar "folklorism," a simple subordination of the writer's creative work to the broad readers' tastes. The problem of "writer and reader," which is extremely acute all over the world, has a very important aspect—the democratic character of creative work. The task of poetry is to educate people both ethically and esthetically. The folk character of literature, to my mind, should be understood as a reflection of the most urgent problems in the most perfect artistic forms, and the acquaintance of the widest strata of readers with them. One cannot bring up people on primitive writing. A deeply artistic apprehension of life, a rich literary imagination—this is what real literature requires. Reality, as revealed both in the diversity of the outside world and in the spiritual richness of man's inner world, is what creative art is based on. The results of an artist's work are always tested in life; thus the "elite" theory of art is quite unfounded. A work of literature that comes as a result only of the subtle subjective work of the author's mind will die soon, since it will not find any response in the reader.

Some Western writers are proud of the fact that they write only for the elect. We and they have differences of principle in the understanding of the essence and purpose of art. The particular feature of Soviet multinational literature lies in reflecting life in a harmony and diversity of national colors. I do not know what can inspire a Soviet writer more than the irrepressible desire to write for the working people. A writer draws satisfaction from his work only when the writer-reader relationship also works in reverse, when he is sure that the literature of his country is an active means of mutual interchange and cognition, an agent of struggle for peace, for humanism and social progress.

The Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union carries on important organizational and creative work, including discussion of new works and debates on the major problems of development of the literatures of the peoples of the Russian Federation. Not so long ago a visiting

session of the Secretariat of our Board took place in Kazan, the capital of the Tatar ASSR, as well as a plenum of the Board devoted to the part played by literature in the molding of our contemporary world outlook and moral make-up. Days of Russian literature were held in the sister republics of Azerbaidzhan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Moldavia and Uzbekistan. Writers from Kirghizia and Lithuania spoke at readers' meetings. Such living contacts with the readers are among the traditions of Russian writers. They symbolize the indissoluble ties between writers and poets on the one hand and their readers—workers, peasants and intellectuals—on the other. The creative work of Soviet fiction writers and poets is a constant stimulus to the development and mutual enrichment of national cultures.

UIGUN

The Coming of the Flowers

*The drifting of the sands
Went on through centuries.
How many mountain villages and flower gardens
Were buried in the dust!
The wind moved stubbornly,
Sluggish with choking heat.
How many Karakum deserts
Were formed by the coming of the sands!*

*The sand-hills closed in,
Burying the poplars.
The conquered fields
Dried up and died.
The canals were clogged
The gardens were smothered.
Heavy and endless toil
Was the aftermath of our misfortune.*

*The years passed in dread
As century succeeded century.
And man remained slave of nature,
Powerless against its onslaughts.*

UIGUN is a pen name for Rakhmatulla Atakuziev, People's Poet of Uzbekistan.

*A host of whirlwinds
Bore down on Turkmenians and Uzbeks,
Forcing man and growing things
To fall back.*

*But the people took heart
With the coming of the October Revolution
Reborn, they learned to control nature's fury.*

*Now we are masters in our lands.
Our people's toil is precious,
With immortal Lenin
Inspiring us,
Leading us on to Communism.*

*Our generation
Has grown so powerful and whole-hearted
That it has launched
An unheard-of attack on the desert.
With liberated minds
We are absorbing the new techniques.
The power of the Karakum deserts
Can at last be conquered!
Yes, my friend, today we see
Blossoms springing up among the sands,
As the desert retreats
With the coming of the flowers!
The arid winds are in flight,
As the mountain villages come to life again.*

*We have pitted ourselves
Against nature's forces
We Communist daredevils.
And this is not the end—we see no limits
To the abundance of our land,
Where flowers sparkle
With the light of peace and spring.*

*Look! Ready for conquest,
The flowers have already invaded the steppes—
The countenance of the Communist future
Is brilliantly illuminated.*

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN,
with the editorial assistance of
NAN BRAYMER

NIKOLAY MIKHAILOV

The Russian Republic: Vast Federation of Soviet Peoples

THE UNION of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed December 30, 1922. Its fifteen constituent Union Republics enjoy equal rights. Aside from matters of defense, national economic planning and a few others which they delegated to the USSR, the republics exercise state power on their own.

The USSR is the largest country in the world, with an area of 8,640,000 square miles. Its population is almost 250 million people, third in the world after China and India.

The USSR was formed on territory which before 1917 was known as tsarist Russia. Even today people abroad often refer to the USSR as Russia. However, inside the USSR the word Russia has different meaning: *the Republic of Russia*. Its full official name is the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

On November 7, 1917 (October 25 in the old style tsarist calendar), Soviet power was established in the country. In January 1918 the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets proclaimed the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), of which Russians form the largest component. At that time the largest nations of the old tsarist empire formed their own republics. In December 1922, by mutual agreement, the republics formed the united Soviet Union.

The expanses of the Russian Federation have boundless plains, high mountains and long rivers. The world's biggest forests and deepest lake—Lake Baikal—are in Siberia, which is a part of the Russian Republic.

Within the Russian Federation you will find Moscow, capital of

NIKOLAY MIKHAILOV is the well-known Soviet geographer and writer. His many books include *From Pole to Pole*, *The Great Plan*, *One Sixth of the World*, *Glimpses of the USSR*. His books have been translated into many foreign languages. Those in English include *Land of the Soviets*, *Soviet Russia: The Land and the People*, and *Discovering the Soviet Union*, the latter in a new and revised 1970 edition.

the RSFSR and the whole Soviet Union; Leningrad, a large industrial and cultural center; the Volga region with its large industries and a cascade of hydropower stations; the towns and steppes of the South with their diversified economy; the rich Urals, a metallurgical center; the North, overgrown with forests; the Soviet Arctic region; the boundless Siberia with its new construction projects; the unique and awesome Soviet Far East with its volcanoes and geysers.

The RSFSR, biggest of the Union Republics, occupies more than three quarters of the Soviet Union, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, from the northern shores of Siberia to the Black and Caspian Seas and to the Caucasian mountains. It has an area of 6,650,000 square miles, double that of the USA.

The RSFSR is the biggest of the Union Republics in population as well. At the beginning of 1972 it had a population of 131,400,000, more than half the total population of the Soviet Union. The "most multinational" of the Union Republics, it has 16 Autonomous Republics, five Autonomous Regions and ten National Areas. That is why it is called a Federative Republic.

The Russian Republic accounts for two-thirds of the USSR's industrial output. Its virtually endless list of products includes elaborate machinery, instruments, fabrics, footwear, metals of different grades, oil, natural gas, coal, superb timber and chemicals. Its industries, like those of the other union republics, are rapidly advancing. In less than five days the RSFSR produces an output equal to the annual output of tsarist Russia. Advanced modern industries have been built up, such as aircraft, engineering, electronics and rocketry. Russia's farms grow wheat, rye, sugar, beet, silky flax, oily sunflower and different breeds of cattle. During the Soviet period her agricultural output has nearly tripled.

In half a century the republic built nearly 600 new modern towns with the latest amenities. The higher educational establishments of Russia serve two million students. Her research centers and industries are staffed with a half a million researchers. Her public health system employs one-third of a million doctors. The RSFSR has three hundred theaters.

In the Soviet Union people refer to the Republic of Russia as the "first among equals." When the USSR was formed the Russian Federation was accepted as a model. The Russian towns sent other Soviet republics machines and qualified personnel—engineers, designers and skilled workers—for their industries. The higher educational establishments of Russia trained students from the national republics.

Today Uzbekistan manufactures the best cotton-picking machines. Remote, mountainous Kirghizia has surpassed France in the extent of higher education. Armenia has no rival in Western Europe in number of doctors per capita. But all this could not have been achieved without the economic and other cooperation of the most developed part of the Soviet Union, without the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Russian people has long been rendering assistance to different nationalities within the RSFSR itself. The engineering Udmurt Autonomous Republic, the coal, the oil and natural gas producing Komi Autonomous Republic, the wood-working Karelian Autonomous Republic, the diamond-extracting Yakut Autonomous Republic, the sheep-breeding Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, the metal-making North Ossetian Autonomous Republic, the petrochemical Bashkir Autonomous Republic and the widely developed Tatar Autonomous Republic are all members of the Russian Federation.

THE economy of the Russian Federation is developing steadily. During the Eighth Five-Year Plan period (1966-1970) RSFSR industrial output grew by 50 per cent. Over the same period the national income increased 45 per cent. Close to 950 big factories and plants were commissioned. Average annual grain production in the Russian Federation reached 100 million tons as compared to 77 million in the preceding five-year period. The main targets in improvement of the living standards of the population were surpassed. In the current Ninth Five-Year Plan period (1971-1975) industrial output in the Russian Federation should increase 44-47 per cent. Further industrial development has been planned on a grand scale.

Moscow, the RSFSR and USSR capital city, is building on a vast scale. Its architects seek to combine monumental features with lightness, convenience and grace. Some 300 new flats are occupied daily.

Natural gas is used in Moscow apartments, as well as in factories, plants and thermal power stations. It is supplied via gas pipelines from the Volga region, the Carpathian Mountains, the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia. The use of gas as a fuel has helped to reduce the smoke and pollution over the city. The giant hydropower stations on the Volga supply Moscow with electricity in abundance. Moscow has also become a port of five seas: the Baltic, White, Caspian, Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

In effect a new city, Moscow is several times the size of pre-Revolutionary Moscow, and incomparably more beautiful and far more convenient. I grew up in a wooden house without running

water. It was pulled down long ago, and my family moved to a new apartment with all modern conveniences in the Southwestern part of the city, a new city area built on an empty plateau, and now inhabited by three quarters of a million people.

The second most populous city in the USSR is Leningrad. I have seen many beautiful cities in the world: Rome, Naples, Rio-de-Janeiro and others, but Leningrad is superior to all. Clear, spacious avenues cut straight into the distance. Graceful columns give proportion to the grey flatness of the facades. The abundant Neva River waters have been bridled by the frame of stone embankments. One hundred islands have been linked by five hundred bridges.

Leningrad, northernmost of the world's big cities, is on the same latitude as Alaska, but the warm waters of the gulfstream soften its climate. Winter days are short, but in early summer the white nights last for weeks on end.

Leningrad is not only a city of beautiful buildings and historical monuments. It is also a city of metal workers and machine builders, and is a big cultural center. The world-renowned Hermitage Museum, housed in the Winter Palace of the Russian tsars, is here. Today the cruiser *Aurora*, famous for her role in the storming of that Palace, is moored alongside the Neva embankment as a relic of the Revolution.

Industries and Farmlands—the Volga

THE ZONE to the south of Moscow is characterized by steppes and a combination of forests and steppes. Before the Revolution this area was dominated by landlords, peasant misery and constant hunger. After serfdom was abolished in 1861 the best lands were left to the landlords. The peasants were given miserable plots for compensation, which deteriorated steadily as a result of landlords' greed. Lack of land and hunger forced the peasants to put all the meadowlands under plow and to cut down the forests. There were no pastures for the cows, no manure for the fields. After the forests were cut down, ravines reduced the area fit for cultivation.

The Revolution deprived the landlords of their land, handing it over to the peasants without compensation. During the years of Soviet power farming was mechanized. For instance, the collective farms of the relatively small Belgorod Region have more than eight thousand tractors, three thousand grain combine harvesters and four thousand trucks. Fifty years ago, the plowman in bast shoes would plow the field with a wooden plow and seed it from a bast basket. Today the vast undivided fields are cultivated with machinery.

All the collective farms have clubs, where in the evenings the latest films are shown. There are nurseries to ease the life of the farm women, and large, airy, village schools. Some of the richer villages have regular water supply systems, stadiums and amateur theaters organized by the village youth. All villages have electric lighting, and in many collective and state farms the production processes are powered by electricity too. New trades have appeared in the countryside, such as the tractor driver, driver, mechanic, electrician and librarian. These changes are typical not only of the RSFSR, but of the whole country too.

Voronezh is the biggest town of the Black Earth region. Before the Revolution it had only a railway depot, a bell factory, three distilleries and several steam mills.

Today it has a population of half a million, manufactures machine tools for factories, machinery for the fields, tires, radios, TV sets and many other goods. Near the town the Novo-Voronezhskaya Atomic Power Station has been built on the bank of the Don River.

The Black Earth region used to be farming country; its industrial output now surpasses that of the farms. The food industries make sugar, sunflower seed oil and potato starch. There is a big factory for processing essential oil seeds. But the heavy industries are growing at a faster rate than the food industries. Kursk factories produce knitted garments and super-modern products such as computers. The Kursk Region is now developing its vast iron ore deposits.

Tambov is famous for its chemical engineering works. The cement plant in Belgorod is the biggest of its kind in Europe and the vitamin factory one of Europe's biggest.

In the southernmost part of the RSFSR health resorts have been built on the shore of the warm Black Sea. Sochi is one of the best resort towns, with more than 130 sanatoria, rest homes, holiday hotels and tourist houses, where two and a half million come from all over the Soviet Union to spend their annual leave.

The Volga region, east of Moscow, is an important area of the RSFSR, with several regions and Autonomous Republics along its 2,300-mile-long shores.

Though the towns of the Volga had some metal-working industries before the Revolution, saw mills, distilleries and flour mills prevailed. The burlaks or barge haulers survived for a long time. On the jetties the stevedores would each handle from 300 to 800 poods (one pood = 36.1 lb.) per day on their backs.

I have seen the old Volga and the new river. It is hard to believe that it could have changed so in less than one human lifetime. A

cascade of hydro-power stations has transformed the longest river in Europe into a series of deep and broad lakes.

The Volgograd hydroelectric power station, with a capacity of two and a half million kilowatts, has long been completed. A mammoth dam spans the entire width of the Volga; it is now a bridge for trains and motor vehicles. Near the station a beautiful white stone town, Volzhski, has been built, with its factories, park, stadium, Palace of Culture and abundant verdure.

The hydroelectric stations have changed not only the river, but also the entire surrounding economy. The river has been adapted to do three jobs simultaneously: generate electricity, serve as an inland waterway and irrigate the fields in the drought-afflicted areas of the Volga region.

Four years before Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 a relatively small station had been erected at Ivankovo where the canal to the Moscow River was built. Before the war a bigger station had been completed at Uglich, farther downstream. In November 1941 the station at Rybinsk—still farther down—generated its first current. It was then regarded as a giant station, with turbine rotors 29.5 feet in diameter. The war had hardly ended when work on a station near Gorky—larger than the one at Rybinsk—was started. Five years after the war work began on the powerful stations at Kuibyshev and Volgograd, still farther downstream.

The industries of the region were now getting an ample power supply. The electric power stations helped promote the petrochemical, engineering and consumer industries.

People matured too. I will mention one name, which embodies the new life on the Volga and the life of the people. Forty years ago Aleksandr Busygin was a peasant boy from the Vetluga River—a tributary of the Volga. He came to build the Gorky Motor Works as a carpenter. Two years later he became the operator of the first steam-powered hammer. Three years later he was a Hero of Labor who exceeded all world records in efficiency in making crankshafts. He was then sent to study at the Industrial Academy where he received an engineer's diploma. He returned to work as a shop superintendent at his plant.

Another example. Several bronze busts have been installed at the livestock raising farm in Karayevo near Kostroma. They are busts of working women—Ulyana Barkova, Yevgenya Grekhova, Lidya Ivanova, Nina and Anna Smirnova, and Agrafena Nilova. For excellent achievements in labor the title of Hero of Socialist Labor has twice been conferred on them.

The Ural Area: Powerhouse of Nature

THE URAL Mountain Range, the boundary between Europe and Asia, is also an important industrial zone. Before the outbreak of World War II, I witnessed the birth of the socialist industries in the Ural region. I did not realize in those days that what I saw was the laying of the foundation for the independence of our country. I walked through the just-completed departments of the now famous Uralmash Engineering Works situated in the main city of the Ural region, Sverdlovsk. Centuries-old pines were roaring in the wind, as if they were amazed at man's audacity. During the Second World War the Ural region was putting out more military equipment than any other region of the Soviet Union.

The Ural range stretches from north to south over a distance of one and a half thousand miles. Its old name was Kamen, Russian for "stone."

In the course of several million years, water, wind, heat, and cold caused the Ural Mountains to erode, laying bare their boundless wealth. Close to one thousand minerals have been found, nearly half of all those known to exist.

The first metallurgical plant in the region was built in 1631 in the wooded valleys near rivers down which timber floated. Russians built furnaces for smelting iron with the help of charcoal. When the Revolution broke out there were close to seventy small and very small steel-making plants.

Today, the Urals is a mighty industrial complex with several huge iron and steel plants, biggest of which is the Magnitogorsk Works. They are all modern industries with mechanized blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and highly efficient converters. Nitrogen chemistry has been developed in connection with the coking of coal. The plants are equipped with big steel-rolling mills, utilizing the latest processes, such as automation, high-speed smelting, oxygen blowing and steel pouring in vacuum.

Sverdlovsk is the biggest city of the region. More than a thousand miles from Moscow on the eastern slope of the Ural Mountain Range, it has a population of more than one million.

Before the Revolution Sverdlovsk, known as Yekaterinburg, was known for the art of cutting semi-precious stones and diamonds. Today Sverdlovsk is known above all as a machine-building center based on the local metal industries. The huge Uralmash plant manufactures equipment for the heavy and construction industries. Recently, it built a huge walking excavator with a 32.5 cubic yard

scoop and a 328 foot boom. This earth-moving giant compares with a 25-story house in height and does the work of 15,000 men.

Sverdlovsk also houses the Ural branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, with several research establishments.

Before the Revolution oil was mainly extracted in the Caucasus, in Baku. In 1932 came the exciting news that oil deposits were found in the heart of Russia, in Bashkiria in the Ural region. Today Bashkiria is an oil-producing region which has surpassed the output of Baku. The fields of the "Second Baku" now stretch to the city of Perm in the north and to the Volga River in the west.

Siberia to the East and North

SIBERIA, another important region of the Russian Federation, stretches from the Urals nearly to the Pacific coast in the East. From north to south it is 2,200 miles and from west to east, 4,300 miles: Siberia alone accounts for nearly half the area of the Soviet Union, is nearly equal to the whole of Europe and is larger than the United States. In the North the Siberian coast is washed by the Arctic Ocean and in the South it borders on China and Mongolia.

In a single decade the USSR put under plow, mainly beyond the Urals, 104 million acres of virgin and disused lands. Between the Revolution and the launching of this great reclamation scheme, the area under crop increased to the size of France. Now the virgin lands project has added an area equal to that of Italy.

The natural resources of Siberia include oil, gas, coal, ore, gold and diamonds. Its timber is partly transported by rail to the west and partly floated down the big Siberian rivers, the Yenisei above all. The saw mills in Igarka—a town on the bank of the Yenisei River—saw the Siberian timber and ship it to Western Europe via the Arctic Sea Route.

Siberia is also rich in furs. The severe frosts help improve their quality: the ash-grey glossy fur of the squirrel, the dark brown and yellow silky fur of the sable, the bright red fur of the fiery fox, the black and silver fur, the silver and blue fur of the different foxes, the white fur of the ermine. Now Siberia has new animals like the mink and muskrat.

Siberia's industries are making huge strides. The power-generating complexes form the foundation for Siberia's present and future economy. Many hydroelectric and coal-burning stations have been built on the Irtysh, Ob, Angara and Yenisei. More are being built. The great Lena River will one day be harnessed too, and stations with a capacity of twenty million kilowatts will be possible.

In many places coal lies close to the surface, making possible open-cut mining. Siberian coal is thus the cheapest in the country, and mammoth thermal power stations are being built to burn it.

Several years ago, an exciting event occurred. Siberia had no liquid fuel of her own. Finally, oil was found in the West Siberian lowland, in the Tyumen and Tomsk regions. These oil deposits, the USSR's biggest, are situated in the North, in the taiga forests. North-west Siberia is now one of the largest oil areas of the world. Defying swamps and severe cold, the people are building a "Siberian Baku." Railways, highways and electric power transmission lines are being laid. A gas pipeline has already reached the Ural region. An oil pipeline now reaches Tyumen and another, a thousand miles away, has been laid to Omsk. Other lines are under construction. Oil production in the area will be increased to 120-125 million tons by 1975.

Siberian metal forms the foundation for the big engineering industries. Chemical, light and food industries are being expanded. To build up all these industries, the concerted effort of millions of people is required. But Siberia is rather thinly populated. Before the Revolution it had a population of eight million people and now it has about twenty million.

The biggest city of Siberia is Novosibirsk. Situated at the intersection of the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Ob River, it is a relatively young city. In 1917 its population was only 70 thousand; today it has surpassed the one million mark.

Novosibirsk, 1,864 miles from Moscow, has an opera and ballet theater, an excellent drama theater, a youth theater, musical comedy and puppet theaters. The city has fourteen higher educational establishments, including a university and conservatory. You can see what changes Soviet power has wrought in the former "land of convicts."

However, the most interesting development in the cultural life of Novosibirsk is the Siberian Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The new research center, Akademgorodok, or Science City, has been built in a pine forest on the shore of the "Ob Sea" formed by the dam of the Novosibirsk Hydroelectric Station. Many top scientists work here, some native Siberians, others from all parts of the country; average age, 34.

Science City has twenty research institutes, in such areas as mathematics, nuclear physics, thermal physics, kinetics and combustion, inorganic chemistry, automation and electrometry, hydrodynamics, theoretical and applied mechanics, geology and geophysics, economics and statistics and cytology and genetics.

A high speed electronic computer installed here has been used for a purpose difficult to associate with the usual conception of "Siberia." Novosibirsk mathematicians have used this instrument to probe the mystery of the written monuments of the ancient Maya Indians who inhabited Central America many centuries ago.

An impoverished small town before the Revolution, Krasnoyarsk—one of the biggest industrial centers of the USSR—is situated on the banks of the wide river Yenisei. It is a breathtaking sight from nearby hills, with its many factories and plants producing synthetic rubber, tires, fiber, silk, pulp and paper, aluminum, river craft, industrial steel, bridge cranes, metal structures, consumer goods.

Twenty-five miles upstream from Krasnoyarsk, where the Yenisei flows at seven meters per second, the Krasnoyarsk Hydroelectric Station has been built near the town of Divnogorsk. The station alone is capable of doing more work in terms of muscular effort than all the inhabitants of Siberia taken together. Today this station is the largest in the world. Its capacity is six million kilowatts.

Lenin spent nearly three years in the village of Shushenskoye, near the Yenisei to the south of Krasnoyarsk. When I visited Shushenskoye I saw that it had increased in size and resembled a town. Many people come to Shushenskoye to see two houses, now museums, in which Lenin lived while in exile.

The Angara, a tributary of the Yenisei, flows out of Lake Baikal 37 miles from Irkutsk, to pass through the city in a rapid and wide stream. There are now two hydroelectric power stations on this river, one near Irkutsk and the other lower down, the huge Bratskaya Station with a dam 416.5 feet high. Nearby Bratsk has developed into an industrial town. A big reservoir has been formed in the midst of the pine forests. Urban neighborhoods and workers' settlements have appeared on both banks along with factory buildings.

One hundred and fifty-five miles downstream from the Bratsk Station another station is being built at the mouth of the Ilim River—the Ust-Ilimskaya power project, to be commissioned before 1975. The biggest of the Siberian hydroelectric stations, with a capacity of over six million kilowatts, is now being built in the upper reaches of the Yenisei, in the Sayan Mountains.

Yakutia, the Far North, the Arctic

THE YAKUT Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is in the heart of Siberia, far to the north of Lake Baikal. It is the biggest of the Autonomous Republics and regions in the Russian Federation. With nearly half its territory beyond the Arctic Circle, Yakutia has a long

and severe winter, whose frosts last from six to eight months a year. The new buildings in Yakutsk have triple window frames, and the brick walls are nearly a meter thick! In the winter you see the snow-covered forests frozen stiff under the clear starry sky. The thermometers here are alcohol thermometers, because mercury freezes. In the tense silence you can hear the sudden cracking of frozen trees torn asunder. The rivers are bound with ice 6.5 feet thick. You can hear people breathe, for the water vapor exhaled freezes instantly, dropping to the ground in the form of rustling dust! The Yakuts refer to this as the "whisper of stars."

At the same time the summer, though short, is rather hot in Yakutia. The farmers in its central part are able to harvest wheat, vegetables and even watermelons. The layer of eternal frost is 656 feet thick. But permafrost is no hindrance to farming. Precipitation being scarce, the moisture in the upper melted layer performs the function of the rain for the plants.

There were few places in old Russia where people were poorer than in Yakutia. The poor families often ate pine and larch "zabolon"—the layer of wood directly under the bark. In a hungry year a family would consume up to ten poods of "zabolon." In the latter half of the 19th century 22 hungry years were registered in the northern part of Yakutia. And famine meant that thousands of people would perish, sometimes whole areas.

Today Yakutia is being developed harmoniously. Here they not only hunt for fur-bearing beasts, but also run tanneries, fish processing plants, gold mines, and extract lead, mica, coal, even diamonds.

Yakutsk, the main center of the republic, is situated on the left bank of the Lena River. At present Yakutsk is building tall stone blocks of flats and other buildings on piles. To preserve the foundation there has to be a clearance between the bottom of the building and the ground. In winter it has to be aired to prevent the warmth coming from the building from thawing the permafrost ground and warping the buildings.

During the Soviet years gifted writers, artists and actors have appeared among the Yakuts. The Institute of Cosmophysical Research is carrying on work in Yakutia which is of great interest to world science, studying solar physics and cosmic rays; the unusually clear sky facilitates observations. The local university trains geologists, engineers, builders and doctors. In Yakutia there are 48 students per ten thousand inhabitants, more than in France or the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Yakuts, Evenks and Russians, descendants of the Cossacks

or exiles, lived in poverty in the sparsely scattered settlements in the valley of the Indigirka, which flows into the Arctic Ocean. This was, perhaps, the most backward region of Siberia. The thousand-mile paths for pack animals that led from Yakutsk were difficult to negotiate; the traders who mastered them controlled the whole of the Indigirka region, bringing in only enough grain to keep the prices at the highest possible level. The hunters would give a squirrel pelt for a box of matches, a fox pelt for a needle and a sable pelt for a bottle of vodka. Today mining industries have been started here. It was not an easy task, as this place is the coldest in the country.

Originally it was thought that the "cold pole" in populated land was Verkhoyansk, in the northern Siberia on the bank of the Yana River, where the temperature drops to nearly -70° Centigrade. However, it was recently found that in Oimyakon, in the upper reaches of the Indigirka, it is even colder. A big mining industry has been built in a place which only four decades ago was not on the map.

The northern shores of the Republic of Russia are washed by the Arctic Ocean, part of which enters the Soviet sector of the Arctic. The apex of this sector is the North Pole. Soviet explorers have done much work in the Arctic. They have been conducting hydrological, meteorological, and magnetic observations from icebreakers, aircraft and drifting ice-floe stations which are set up sometimes for prolonged periods in the Arctic basin, including its central part.

The Soviet Far North is rich in minerals, fish, furs and sea animals. But in the past the map of the Arctic region was covered by a chain of blank spots. During the years of Soviet power it was decided to navigate the Arctic from ocean to ocean in one summer season and to lay a permanent route.

A fleet of powerful icebreakers was built, with the atomic icebreaker *Lenin* as flagship. The depths have been sounded and plotted, lighthouses and beacons have been built, and fuel bases have been organized. The ships at sea are guided by radio and ice reconnaissance aircraft. Thus a waterway has been opened from the central regions of the country to the Far East, passing through area wholly under Soviet jurisdiction.

The Arctic Sea Route is needed not only for through shipments, but also for cargo traffic to North Siberia and back. The great Siberian rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean thus connect the Arctic Sea Route with the internal regions of Siberia.

With its vast and variegated geography, economic advances and its many different peoples, the RSFSR is truly "first among equals" of the fifteen Union Republics of the USSR.

YAKOV KOZLOVSKY

Rasul from the Mountain Village of Tsada

SERGEI NAROVCHATOV, a well-known Soviet poet, literary critic and connoisseur of poetry, once said that if he were asked to name the five best poets of the country, he would mention Rasul Gamzatov among them; if he had to name four—Gamzatov would be mentioned again, and lastly, if he were to name the best poet he would repeat: "Rasul Gamzatov" once more. Thus in the flowery Oriental style the Russian poet expressed his admiration for the talent of the Avar who has become famous all over the world.

The poet's native Daghestan is a land of mountains. The Caspian, the world's saltiest sea, lies at their feet. One can never foretell how the sea might behave at sunrise or moonrise—either it thunders diabolically, frightening the women whose husbands have gone out fishing, or peacefully tosses white foam on the beach.

Mountain villages stand on the slopes. From time immemorial courage and honor had been regarded there as attributes of human dignity. "After the death of a steed there remains the steppe, and after the death of a hero there remains his name," they used to inscribe upon swords.

Daghestan is a land of many peoples. More than 30 languages and dialects are spoken in the mountain villages of this one small Republic, in which live one and a half million people! There even exists a legend for the explanation of this phenomenon, to the effect that once God sent a horseman with a bag containing languages which he was to distribute among the peoples. But when the horseman reached the Daghestan plateau, he nearly fell into a gorge. So not wanting to take any risks after that, he untied the bag and poured out the languages. And that is why there are so many languages in Daghestan now.

Every village of Daghestan is famous for something. Balkhar for

YAKOV KOZLOVSKY, the well-known Russian translator of poetry, has long maintained a close association with Rasul Gamzatov and succeeded in penetrating to the very essence of his poetry, which is written in the Avar language, one of many tongues spoken in the mountains of Daghestan, North Caucasus.

instance, is known for its earthenware; Untsukul—for its engraving and carving; Tsumada—for its fine cloaks made of black and white sheep's wool; Kubachi—for its gold and silver chasing; Tsovkra—for its rope walkers, while the village of Tsada is famous for its poets. They say that the most apt sayings and proverbs come from there.

The sun rises early in the village of Tsada, and even after a big rain the soil does not stick to one's soles. The word "Tsada" means "fiery." It was here, in the year 1923, that a third son was born into the family of Gamzat Tsadasa, a famous Daghestan poet. The boy was named Rasul, meaning in Arabic "envoy" or "representative." He grew up like all village boys: he climbed rocks, brought wolf cubs in his hat from the woods, was fond of listening to fairy-tales told by his grandmother at the fireside. He was eleven when he wrote his first poem; four years later his poems were published by the local paper.

At first Rasul signed his poems with his father's pen-name of Tsadasa. But once a venerable mountaineer from a neighboring village, not knowing that Rasul also wrote poetry, asked him: "Listen, sonny, what is the matter with your honorable father? Before, when I read a poem of his only once I immediately memorized it, while now I even fail to understand his verses." After that, having taken for his surname his father's first name, Rasul started signing his poetry as "Rasul Gamzatov."

The young poet's first teacher in all his literary undertakings was his father. He was a strict and demanding master. Speaking of his son's first literary experiments, he said: "If one were to take a pair of fire tongs and rummage in these ashes, he would be fortunate to find a coal big enough to light a pipe."

Years passed. Rasul finished school, then a teachers' training college. First he worked as a school-teacher at the school where he himself had been a pupil, then as assistant director with the Avar traveling theater, and then as a journalist. But he did not stop writing poetry for a single day. He woke up in the morning with his head stuffed with rhymes, and he went to sleep in the evening whispering like a prayer the lines he had not had time to write down.

The war broke out in 1941. Thousands of families were visited by misfortune, including that of old Gamzat Tsadasa—both his elder sons died the death of heroes. The death of his brothers left a deep wound in Rasul's heart. His poetry became more mature, serious and moving. In the autumn of 1945 the young Avar poet came to Moscow to study at the Gorky Literary Institute.

The late Marshak, outstanding Soviet poet and translator, once

wrote of Gamzatov: "I remember Rasul telling us, during one of our encounters, that he had been suckled by two women. When his mother was sick, he was nursed by a mountain peasant woman. In literature, likewise, he had two mothers—the poetry of the Orient and the great Russian poetry. And by means of Russian poetry he came to know the great classical poets, such as Robert Burns, Heine, Shakespeare and Goethe." (See Rasul Gamzatov, "My Book Has Two Mothers," NWR, Fall-Winter 1968.)

Who were Rasul Gamzatov's teachers and idols? Listen to his own testimony: "I was enamored in turn by different poets—now by Blok, now by Mayakovsky, Yessenin, Pasternak and Tsvetayeva, now by Edward Bagritsky, by the Avar Magomedov and the German Heine. But my love for Pushkin, Lermontov and Nekrassov has remained unchanged." Delighting in Russian poetry and studying it, Rasul at the same time familiarized his student friends and, later, the Russian poets, with the eternally living Oriental poets of the past century, Makhmud, Magomedov, Chanka (Tazhuddin) and Eldarilav. "A poet is the friend of a poet"—this comment of Yessenin is illustrated by Rasul's entire life and work. He was a great friend of such gifted Russian poets as Alexander Tvardovsky, Samuel Marshak and Kornei Chukovsky. Firm ties of friendship also bind him to contemporary poets like Sergey Narovchatov and Yevgeny Vinokurov, the Kalmyk David Kugultinov, and the Balkar lyricist Kaisyn Kuliyeu. The lines he addressed to the Bashkir Mustai Karim show the human traits Rasul prizes most: "It is good that you are right by, Mustai, loyal friend and genuine poet."

Gamzatov has traveled all over the world. But no matter where he has been—in the United States or in Indonesia; whether a guest of the famous Pakistani poet Faiz Akhmed Faiz, or watching the cranes fly as he stood on top of Mt. Fujiyama; whether at the "Havana Libre" hotel in Cuba, or visiting Bamako, Mali, he always heard the call of his native land. Once he said: "I feel myself responsible for the whole state." And these were not mere words. Rasul Gamzatov devotes much time to social activities and matters of state, for he is a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a passionate champion of peace.

But let us analyze his poetic work a little and see what is typical of his poetry. "A word is more precious than a steed," an old mountain proverb says. Rasul firmly keeps to this rule in his creative work. His poems have nothing trivial about them—they remain true to the traditions that proceed from the metaphoric character of folk speech and the experience of the ages. The vividness of his images,

the loftiness and depth of his thoughts and the harmony of his rhymes blend in his works to create a wonderful and harmonious spiritual reflection of life. Flimsy lyricism and flowery rhetoric alike are alien to the poet: he hates falsity and triteness, as he hates stupidity and malice. A broad mind, independent opinion and conviction—these are typical of Rasul Gamzatov's poetry and prose. His poems are unique, aphoristic and deeply national. Rooted in the ancient culture of the Caucasus, his work has also absorbed the finest traditions of classical Russian and Soviet literature. It has also been translated into many other languages of the world.

Rasul Gamzatov's books of poetry have even been out in space! Astronaut Vitaly Sevastyanov, a great admirer of his works, took a book of his verse along when he went on his space flight. Having visited the Stellar Town where Soviet astronauts live, Rasul commented: "We live in an age when the dream of many generations of men comes true. It makes me happy to know that a small volume of my verse has been included among other books in the space library. We have been the first to pave the way in space. We have dreamt and still dream of the faraway stars. But for me people will always be the highest stars."

"Rockets have many times sailed out into the sky to the faraway stars. Oh, men, you are the highest stars, and I wish I could reach you," he wrote in one of his poems.

Rasul Gamzatov is the author of many books. Among the best of them are "My Heart is in the Mountains," "The Mountain Woman," "Stars So High" (for which he received a Lenin Prize), and "A Star Speaks to a Star," "The Mulatto," "Rosary of Years," "The Third Hour," and his brilliant book of prose, "My Daghestan."

Not long ago *Novy Mir*, the literary magazine, published "My Daghestan," a long story which for the first time acquaints the reader with Gamzatov the prose-writer. It is a unique work of fiction, containing many parables, legends and tales. The poet relates the heroic history of his native mountain land, acquainting the reader with the life, manners and customs of the highlanders. The artistic achievement of this book is in no way inferior to that of Gamzatov's poetry.

In everyday life Rasul Gamzatov is the same as in his creative work: he is friendly, open-hearted, capable of sharing other people's joys and sorrows. This makes him a charming and witty companion. Since his youth, the poet has been very selective in his choice of friends. He has shown, one might say, a particular gift for sensing both a sterling character and a genuine poet. He is wise, self-critical, and never carried away by his own success.

To make better acquaintance with this most gifted poet and human being, one must read his books. Certainly he will then become a life-long admirer of an author whose creative work does much to confirm the simple truth that a great talent can just as easily be born in a small mountain village as in a large city.

POEMS OF RASUL GAMZATOV

Following are three poems of Rasul Gamzatov which beautifully and effectively capture the humanistic concern and awareness which inform his work. They appeared also in Fifty Soviet Poets, edited by Vladimir Ognev and Dorian Rottenberg (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969).

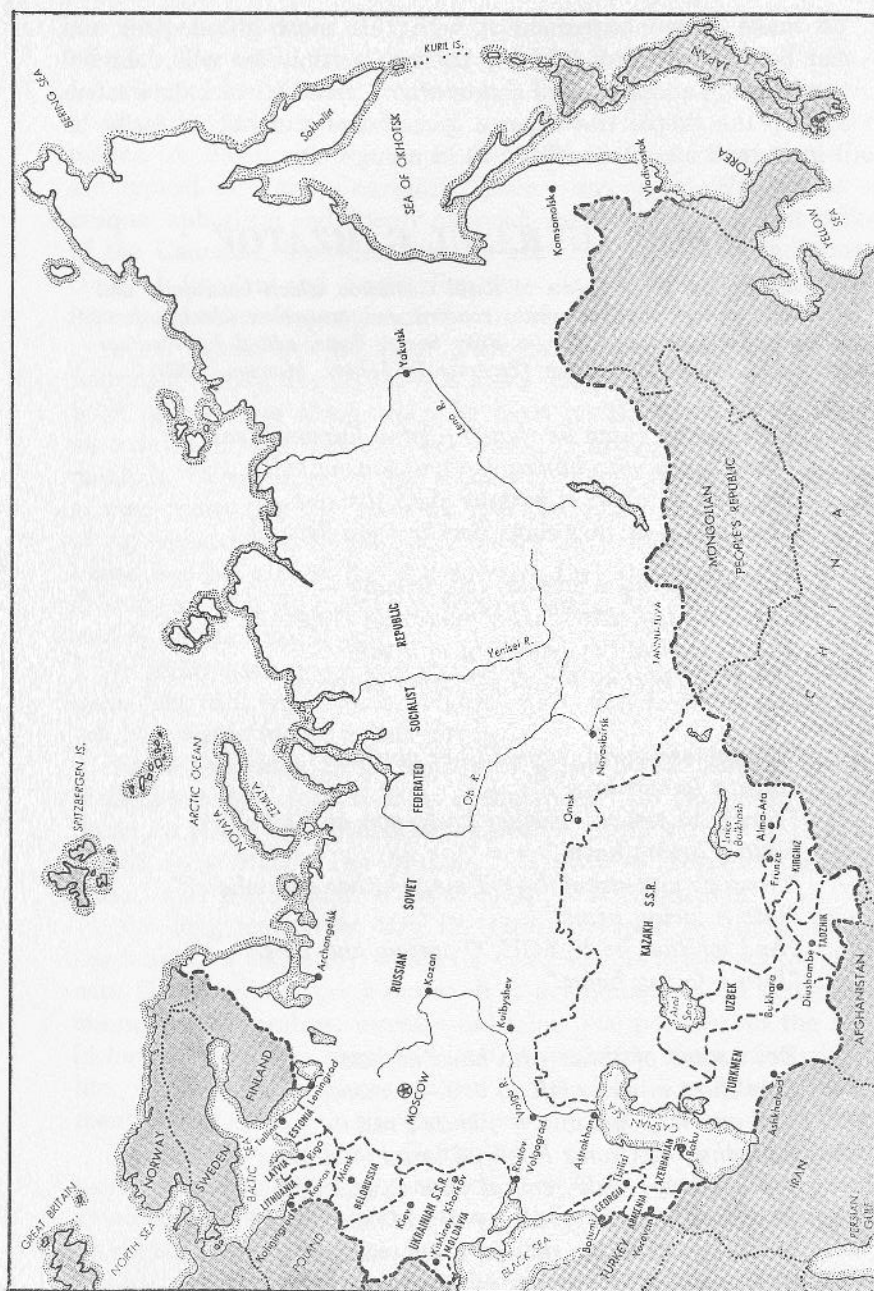
*Three songs there be that thrill the human breast
Three songs with human joy and sorrow laden.
And one of them is happier than the rest—
The song a mother sings beside a cradle.*

*The second by a mother, too, is sung —
Caressing icy cheeks with mourning fingers,
She sings it at the graveside of a son.
The third is sung by all the other singers.*

•
*"Happiness—tarry; say whither you fly?"
"Into a loving heart."
"Youth, to return—whither haste you and why?"
"Into a loving heart."
"Courage and strength—tell me, whither and where?"
"Into a loving heart."
"And whither haste YOU, O sorrow and care?"
"Into a loving heart."*

•
*Even some of those who have at best
Five short minutes left to live—no more,
Toil and moil without a minute's rest
As if they had some hundred years in store
While snowy peaks, coeval with Creation,
In silence stern regarding petty Man,
Stand frozen still in mournful expectation
As if but five more minutes were their span.*

Poems translated by LOUIS ZELLIKOFF



Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Map reprinted from *Russia Re-Examined*, by William Mandel (Hill & Wang, 1964, 1967), by courtesy of the author.

The Soviet National Republics: Background Data

IMMEDIATELY following the November, 1917 Revolution, the Russian Federation (RSFSR) and the Ukraine declared themselves independent Soviet Republics, as did Byelorussia in 1919, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan in 1920 and Georgia in 1921, the last three forming the Transcaucasian Federation. At the end of 1922, the Congress of Soviets of each of these republics agreed to set up a single Union State. On December 30, 1922, the First Congress of Soviets, with elected delegates from these original Republics, approved a declaration forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The original USSR thus consisted at that time of the two federative Republics, the Russian Federation (RSFSR), the Transcaucasian Federation (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan), the Ukraine and Byelorussia. (Finland and Poland, formerly part of the Tsarist Empire, seceded in 1918 and 1919 respectively, and their independence was recognized by the Soviet Government. See page 8).

By early 1923, the Russian Federation included 10 autonomous republics, most important of which were the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Yakut ASSR in Northeastern Siberia, the Tatar ASSR in the mid-Volga area and, formed soon after, the Tadzhik ASSR. The RSFSR also included 11 Autonomous Regions. The Georgian SSR included the Abkhazian and Adzhar ASSRs and Azerbaidzhan included the Nakhichevan Autonomous Region.

Other constituent republics joined the USSR as follows: The Turkmenian and Uzbekistan SSR's in 1924; the Tadzhik SSR, transformed from an autonomous republic in 1929; the Kirghiz SSR (also formerly an autonomous republic) in 1936; the Azerbaidzhanian, Armenian and Georgian Republics joined as separate union republics, ending the Transcaucasian Federation, under the new Soviet Constitution adopted in 1936.

The Baltic States declared themselves Soviet Socialist Republics in July, 1940 and the following month joined the USSR as the Latvian SSR, the Lithuanian SSR and the Estonian SSR.

The Moldavian SSR, combining the former Moldavian ASSR with-

in the Ukraine with Bessarabia (whose annexation by Romania in 1918 was never recognized by either the USSR or the US) was created and joined the USSR in 1940.

The USSR today contains the following Union Republics; RSFSR, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Armenia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Moldavia. Autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national districts within the union republics are as follows:

Within the RSFSR the autonomous republics are as follows: Bashkirian ASSR, Buryat ASSR, Daghestan ASSR, Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR, Kalmyk ASSR, Karelian ASSR, Komi ASSR, Mari ASSR, Mordovian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR, Tatar ASSR, Tuva ASSR, Udmurt ASSR, Checheno-Ingush ASSR, Chuvash ASSR, Yakut ASSR.

The RSFSR autonomous regions are as follows: the Adygei, Gorny-Altai, Jewish (Biro-Bidzhan), Karachai-Cherkess and Khakass Autonomous Regions.

The 10 RSFSR National Districts are: the Aginski-Buryat, Komi-Permyak, Koryak, Nenets, Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets), Ust-Ordynski Buryat, Khanti-Mansi, Chukchi, Evenki and Yamalo-Nenets National Districts.

The Uzbek SSR contains one autonomous republic, the Karakalpak ASSR.

The Georgian SSR has two autonomous republics, the Abkhazian ASSR and the Adzharian SSR, and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region.

The Azerbaidzhanian SSR contains one autonomous republic, the Nakhichevan ASSR, and one autonomous region, the Karabakh Autonomous Region.

The Tadzhik SSR contains the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

In the course of the fifty-year development of the USSR, as the above chronology shows, a number of changes have taken place, with the accession of new union republics, some of them transformed from former autonomous republics, and new autonomous regions and national areas. Space does not permit enumeration of all these internal changes. A few of the more important ones should be noted.

In accordance with exchanges of territory between the USSR and Finland, agreed to in the Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty of March, 1940, the Karelian Isthmus and other areas became part of Soviet territory. In April 1940, most of this area was joined with the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which had been a part of the RSFSR,

to form the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic. At a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet in August 1956, President Otto Kuusinen appealed on behalf of the Karelian-Finnish Supreme Soviet and the people of the Republic that it be transformed into the Karelian Autonomous Republic within the RSFSR. He based his request on the fact that hardships during World War II had resulted in continuing economic difficulties which could be better handled as part of the RSFSR. Furthermore much of its former Finnish population had resettled in Finland and Russians now constituted three-fourths of the population. The appeal was granted and the Karelian-Finnish SSR became the Karelian ASSR within the RSFSR.

The main Tatar center of the Union has always been the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the RSFSR, with Kazan as its capital. In the early days there was also a Crimean-Tatar Autonomous Republic, also within the RSFSR, organized on the basis of the Tatar minority, at that time only a quarter of the population. In 1945, this autonomous republic was abolished, because some of the Tatars had collaborated with the German invaders, and the Crimean Tatars were resettled in other parts of the USSR. This territory then became part of the Ukraine and new settlers were established there.

Asked why the Crimean-Tatar Republic had not been reestablished (as was the case with several autonomous regions that had been abolished), at a press conference held in May, 1972 during the Nixon visit, Justus Paleckis, of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, replied: "The Ukrainian Government considers that the percentage of Crimean Tatars living in the area is too small to warrant the establishment of a new administrative national entity. But Tatars who lived there in the past have the right to return. Crimean Tatars living elsewhere have also been offered the opportunity to resettle in the Tatar Autonomous Republic, (referred to above) where they have facilities to publish their own books and newspapers and to develop their culture."

The Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—formerly part of the Tsarist Empire, formed their own Soviet governments during 1917 and 1918. Torn away from the young Soviet Republic by the robber Brest-Litovsk Treaty, they were then utilized by internal and international counter-revolutionary forces in the armed intervention to overthrow the Soviets, and when that failed, used as part of the *cordon sanitaire* against them. This opened the way for reactionary fascist regimes which became vassals of Nazi Germany. A broad anti-fascist movement, led by the Communists, restored Soviet power. The new Baltic governments applied for admission to the USSR and

entered the union in 1940. Ravaged by the Hitlerite invading forces, their real economic reconstruction began only after the 1945 victory. In the beginning the US had refused to recognize their independence from the new Soviet State. US Secretary of State Robert Lansing, for instance, declared in 1919 that in the American view "the Baltic Provinces of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia shall be autonomous states of a Russian Federation." US recognition came soon after, however, and absurdly, embassies of the three former Baltic regimes, long passed from the stage of history, still exist in Washington, D.C.

National Groups and Languages: Soviet Census Figures

The following figures are from the official Soviet censuses, and are based on individual declarations. Children are given the national language designations declared by their parents.

	Population (in thousands)		Proportion of each national- ity which claims the given na- tionality's lan- guage as its mother tongue (in per cent)		Proportion of each national- ity (in 1970) speaking another Soviet language fluently (in per cent)	
	1959	1970	1959	1970	Russian	others
The USSR, overall	208,827	241,720	94.3	93.9	17.3	4.2
Russians	114,114	129,015	99.8	99.8	0.1	3.0
Ukrainians	37,253	40,753	87.7	85.7	36.3	6.0
Uzbeks	6,015	9,195	98.4	98.6	14.5	3.3
Byelorussians	7,913	9,052	84.2	80.6	49.0	7.3
Tatars	4,968	5,931	92.1	89.2	62.5	5.3
Kazakhs	3,622	5,299	98.4	98.0	41.8	1.8
Azerbaizdzhanians	2,940	4,380	97.6	98.2	16.6	2.5
Armenians	2,787	3,559	89.9	91.4	30.1	6.0
Georgians	2,692	3,245	98.6	98.4	21.3	1.0
Moldavians	2,214	2,698	95.2	95.0	36.1	3.6
Lithuanians	2,326	2,665	97.8	97.9	35.9	1.9
Jews	2,268	2,151	21.5	17.7	16.3	28.8
Tadzhiks	1,397	2,136	98.1	98.5	15.4	12.0
Germans	1,620	1,846	75.0	66.8	59.6	1.1
Chuvash	1,470	1,694	90.8	86.9	58.4	5.5
Turkmens	1,002	1,525	98.9	98.9	15.4	1.3
Kirghiz	969	1,452	98.7	98.8	19.1	3.3
Latvians	1,400	1,430	95.1	95.2	45.2	2.4

Peoples of Daghestan	945	1,365	96.2	96.5	41.7	8.9
Including:						
Avars	270	396	97.2	97.2	37.8	5.7
Lezghians	223	324	92.7	93.9	31.6	22.3
Dargins	158	231	98.6	98.4	43.0	2.8
Kumyks	135	189	98.0	98.4	57.4	1.2
Laks	64	86	95.8	95.6	56.0	3.5
Tabasarans	35	55	99.2	98.9	31.9	10.2
Noghays	39	52	90.0	89.8	68.5	1.1
Rutuls	6.7	12	99.9	98.9	30.7	18.8
Tsakhurs	7.3	11	99.2	96.5	12.2	43.5
Aguls	6.7	8.8	99.4	99.4	39.8	9.6
Mordovians	1,285	1,263	78.1	77.8	65.7	8.1
Bashkirs	989	1,240	61.9	66.2	53.3	2.6
Poles	1,380	1,167	45.2	32.5	37.0	12.7
Estonians	989	1,007	95.2	95.5	29.0	2.0
Udmurts	625	704	89.1	82.6	63.3	6.9
Chechens	419	613	98.8	98.7	66.7	1.0
Mari	504	599	95.1	91.2	62.4	6.2
Ossetes	413	488	89.1	88.6	58.6	10.7
Komi and Ko- mi-Permyaks	431	475	88.7	83.7	64.8	5.2
Including:						
Komi	287	322	89.3	82.7	63.1	5.4
Komi-Permyaks	144	153	87.6	85.8	68.5	4.6
Koreans	314	357	79.3	68.6	50.3	1.7
Bulgarians	324	351	79.4	73.1	58.8	7.9
Greeks	309	337	41.5	39.3	35.4	14.5
Buryats	253	315	94.9	92.6	66.7	2.7
Yakuts	233	296	97.6	96.3	41.7	1.1
Kabardians	204	280	97.9	98.0	71.4	0.8
Karakalpaks	173	236	95.0	96.6	10.4	3.6
Gypsies	132	175	59.3	70.8	53.0	16.4
Uighurs	95	173	85.0	88.5	35.6	9.5
Hungarians	155	166	97.2	96.6	25.8	9.8
Ingushes	106	158	97.9	97.4	71.2	0.9
Gagauz	124	157	94.0	93.6	63.3	8.6
Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East	130	151	75.9	67.4	52.5	7.1
Including:						
Nenets	23	29	84.7	83.4	55.1	3.3
Evenks	25	25	55.9	51.3	54.9	7.5
Khants	19	21	77.0	68.9	48.1	7.3
Chukchi	12	14	93.9	82.6	58.7	4.8
Evens	9.1	12	81.4	56.0	46.4	17.6
Nanaians	8.0	10	86.3	69.1	58.0	9.4
Mansi	6.45	7.7	59.2	52.4	38.6	5.4
Koryaks	6.3	7.5	90.5	81.1	64.3	5.5

Dolgans	3.9	4.9	93.9	89.8	61.9	3.2
Nivkhis	3.7	4.4	76.3	49.5	43.8	5.6
Selkups	3.8	4.3	50.6	51.1	40.8	8.6
Olcha	2.1	2.4	84.9	60.8	56.8	7.0
Saami	1.8	1.9	69.9	56.2	52.9	9.3
Udeghes	1.4	1.5	73.7	55.1	46.0	10.1
Itelmens	1.1	1.3	36.0	35.7	32.5	4.3
Kets	1.0	1.2	77.1	74.9	59.1	2.0
Oroches	0.8	1.1	68.4	48.6	44.4	6.6
Nganasans	0.75	1.0	93.4	75.4	40.0	15.7
Yukaghirs	0.4	0.6	52.5	46.8	29.1	32.8
Karelians	167	146	71.3	63.0	59.1	15.1
Tuvinians	100	139	99.1	98.7	38.9	0.4
Kalmyks	106	137	91.0	91.7	81.1	1.5
Romanians	106	119	83.3	63.9	29.6	16.3
Karachays	81	113	96.8	98.1	67.6	1.2
Adyghe	80	100	96.8	96.5	67.9	1.4
Kurds	59	89	89.9	87.6	19.9	36.2
Finns	93	85	59.5	51.0	47.0	8.5
Abkhaz	65	83	95.0	95.9	59.2	2.8
Turks	35	79	82.2	92.3	22.4	31.2
Khakass	57	67	86.0	83.7	65.5	3.4
Balkars	42	60	97.0	97.2	71.5	2.5
Altayans	45	56	88.5	87.2	54.9	3.2
Circassians	30	40	89.7	92.0	70.0	2.5
Dungans	22	39	95.1	94.3	48.0	5.7
Irani (Persians)	21	28	44.7	36.9	33.9	12.7
Abazinians	20	25	94.8	96.1	69.5	6.1
Assyrians	22	24	64.3	64.5	46.2	14.7
Czechs	25	21	49.0	42.9	35.6	21.4
Tats	11	17	70.9	72.6	57.7	15.3
Shorts	15	16	83.7	73.5	59.8	5.9
Slovaks	15	12	61.2	52.0	39.3	31.3
Other nationalities	108	126	61.6	69.4	38.4	12.8

The Supreme Soviet

THE 15 constituent republics make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in which all have equal rights. The highest governing body of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet, is made up of two equal houses. One is the Soviet of the Union, elected by direct vote of numerical constituencies throughout the country, on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 people. The other is the Soviet of Nationalities in which there are 32 seats for each of the Union Republics irrespective of size, 11 for each Autonomous Republic, five for each auto-

nous region and one for each national area. In addition, the 15 chairmen of each of the Union Republics are vice-chairmen of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which takes action between sessions of the latter, subject to its ratification. This system ensures *more than proportional* representation of the smaller nations and nationalities in the Supreme Soviet as a whole.

There are 1,517 deputies in the Supreme Soviet—767 in the Soviet of the Union, 750 in the Soviet of Nationalities. 62 nationalities are represented. Workers (31.8 per cent) and farmers (18.6 per cent) make up over half the deputies; one third are women; one third non-party people. In Soviets at all levels are over 2 million deputies and over 23 million volunteer activists.

Both houses of the Supreme Soviet have equal powers in initiating legislation and all other matters, and all laws must be passed by both houses, a simple majority in each being required. There are frequent joint sittings. Each house elects its own chairman. The chairmen of the two houses preside alternately at joint sessions.

Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, based on the USSR Constitution, but taking specific national needs into consideration, and its own Supreme Soviet. Lower bodies are the local Soviets in cities and villages, and district and regional Soviets. Each Union Republic has its own Union-Republic and Republic Ministries.

Elections at all levels are on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. All citizens who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin or past activities, have the right to vote with the exception of persons who have been legally certified insane. Every citizen of the USSR who has reached the age of 23 is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or lower bodies, on the same basis.

ISMAIL ALI ABUKAR

*Vice-President, Supreme Revolutionary Council,
Somali Democratic Republic*

THE SOVIET people have turned their country from a backward into a modern powerful industrial state. Socialism has proved that it not only ensures equality, social justice and rapid economic progress but also helps forward the growth of a multinational economy.

Soviet Population, by Republic and Region

	Population (in thousands)		1970 in
	On January 15, 1959	On January 15, 1970	per cent of 1959
USSR	208,827	241,720	116
RSFSR	117,534	130,079	111
Ukrainian SSR	41,869	47,126	113
Byelorussian SSR	8,056	9,002	112
Uzbek SSR	8,261	11,960	145
Kazakh SSR	9,153	12,849	140
Georgian SSR	4,044	4,686	116
Azerbaidzhan SSR	3,698	5,117	138
Lithuanian SSR	2,711	3,128	115
Moldavian SSR	2,885	3,569	124
Latvian SSR	2,093	2,364	113
Kirghiz SSR	2,066	2,933	142
Tadzhik SSR	1,981	2,900	146
Armenian SSR	1,763	2,492	141
Turkmen SSR	1,516	2,159	142
Estonian SSR	1,197	1,356	113
Economic regions of the RSFSR:			
North-West	10,865	12,157	112
Central	25,718	27,652	108
Volga-Vyatka	8,252	8,348	101
Central Black Earth	7,769	7,998	103
Volga	15,975	18,374	115
North Caucasus	11,601	14,281	123
Ural	14,184	15,185	107
West Siberian	11,252	12,109	108
East Siberian	6,473	7,463	115
Far Eastern	4,834	5,780	120
Kaliningrad Region	611	732	120
Economic regions of the Ukrainian SSR:			
Donetsk-Dnieper	17,766	20,057	113
South-West	19,028	20,689	109
South	5,075	6,380	126

DK274 .S58
A family of peoples;



3 1733 00363 2691

947.085 Sm61f

947.085
Sm61f
Smith, Jessica
A family of peoples.

A FAMILY OF PEOPLES

The USSR After 50 Years

Many people, when they hear "USSR," think of "Russians." In fact, *almost half* of the Soviet people are non-Russian: Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Eskimos, Azerbaidzhanians, other peoples of Asian or Turkic background as well as the Eastern European peoples—Moldavians, Estonians, many others. Over 100 different nationalities live together in *fifteen national republics*, each with its own constitution, flag, legislature, language.

A Family of Peoples tells this story, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR. Contributions by Soviet authorities and by writers from other countries describe the theory and practice of the Soviet national policy, worked out by Lenin; the political, cultural and economic development of the Soviet peoples, especially the formerly backward ones; problems encountered in striving to preserve and strengthen national traditions and identity, while also fostering international unity and mutual enrichment; questions of art and literature; women's liberation; Soviet Jewish life. The anniversary address of L. I. Brezhnev is summarized. Interspersed among the substantial essays are poems and lyrical pieces by some of the national writers whom Soviet policy has brought to the fore. Data from the latest census on nationalities and languages is presented in easily readable form.

A Family of Peoples is a unique source-book on a vital, and neglected, aspect of Soviet life, one with profound implications for inter-ethnic and international relations in today's world.

N.W.R. Publications, Inc.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10010

P1-AZB-344